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MEMORIAL DE SAINTE HÉLÈNE.

JOURNAL

OF THE

PRIVATE LIFE

AND

CONVERSATIONS

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT SAINT HELENA

BY

THE COUNT DE LAS CASES.

VOL. III.

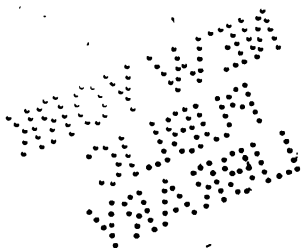
PART THE SIXTH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HENRY COLBURN AND CO.

1823.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET STREET.



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ERRATUM.

Page 83, line 16, after *six*, read *thousand*.

MY RESIDENCE
WITH
THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON
AT SAINT HELENA.

*Plan for a Political Defence of Napoleon ;
sketched by himself.*

TUESDAY, Aug. 27th, 1816.—About four o'clock I joined the Emperor in the garden : he had been engaged in dictating during the whole of the morning. The wind was very rough, and the Emperor declined riding out in the calash : he therefore walked about for a considerable time in the great path of the wood, attended by all the individuals of his suite. He jokingly teased one of the party, by observing that he was sulky, and accusing him of being very often discontented and ill-humoured, &c.

The Emperor, on rising from the dinner-table, adverted to his recent protestation against the treaty of the 2d of August. He expatiated with warmth on the subject, and remarked, while he walked rapidly about the apartment, that he in-

tended to draw up another protest, on a more extended and important scale, against the bill that had been passed in the British parliament. He would prove, he said, that the bill was not a law, but a violation of every existing law. Napoleon was proscribed, and not judged by it. The English parliament had done, not what was just, but what was deemed to be expedient; it had imitated Themistocles, without hearing Aristides. The Emperor then arraigned himself before all the nations in Europe, and proved that each would successively acquit him. He took a review of the different acts of his reign, and justified them all. "The French and the Italians," said he, "lament my absence; I carry with me the gratitude of the Poles, and even the late and bitter regrets of the Spaniards."

"Europe will soon deplore the loss of the equilibrium, to the maintenance of which my French empire was absolutely necessary. The Continent is now in the most perilous situation, being continually exposed to the risk of being overrun by Cossacks and Tartars. And the English," said he in conclusion, "the English will deplore their victory of Waterloo! Things will be carried to such a length, that posterity, together with every well-informed and well-disposed person among our contemporaries, will regret that I did not succeed in all my enterprises."

In course of his remarks, the Emperor occasionally rose to a pitch of sublimity. I shall not follow him into all his details. He promised to dictate the observations he had made, and said he had already sketched out a plan for his political defence, in fourteen paragraphs.

Catinat ; Turenne ; Condé.—Questions respecting the greatest Battle fought by the Emperor ; the best Troops, &c.

28.—The Emperor did not go out until four o'clock ; he had spent three hours in the bath. The weather was very unpleasant, and in consequence he merely took a few turns in the garden. He had just written to inform the Governor, that henceforth he would receive no strangers, unless they were admitted to Longwood by passes from the Grand Marshal, as in the time of Admiral Cockburn.

The Emperor proposed playing a game at chess ; but before he sat down to do so, he took up a volume of Fénelon. It was *La Direction de Conscience d'un Roi*. He read to us several articles, criticising them with considerable spirit and gaiety. At length he threw down the volume, saying, that the name of an author had never influenced him in forming an opinion of his writings ; that he always judged of works according to the sentiments with which they inspired him ; being always equally willing to praise or to censure. He added, that in spite of

the name of Fenelon, he had no hesitation in declaring, that the work he had just looked through, was a mere string of rhapsodies; and truly it would be difficult to refute this assertion.

After dinner, the Emperor conversed about the old marine establishment, and alluded to M. de Grasse, and his defeat on the 12th of April. He wished to learn some particulars on this subject; and he asked for the Dictionary of Sieges and Battles. He looked over it, and it afforded him matter for a multitude of observations. Catinat came under his consideration, and the remarks he made on that commander lowered him infinitely in our estimation. Napoleon said, that he thought him very inferior to the reputation he enjoyed, after viewing the scenes of his operations in Italy, and reading his correspondence with Louvois. "Having risen from the *tiers-état*," said he, "and being educated for the law, distinguished for urbanity of manners and moral integrity, affecting the practice of equality, residing at St. Gratien, at the gates of Paris, Catinat, became the favourite of the *litterati* of the capital, and the philosophers of the day, who exalted him beyond his real merits. He was in no way comparable to Vendôme."

The Emperor said, he had endeavoured, in the same manner, to study the characters of Turenne and Condé, suspecting that they were also the objects of exaggerated eulogy; but that he was

convinced those two men were fully entitled to all the commendation that has been bestowed on them. With regard to Turenne, he remarked, that his intrepidity increased in proportion as he acquired experience: as he grew old he evinced greater courage than he seemed to possess in early life. The contrary was observable in Condé, who displayed so much dauntless valour at the commencement of his career.

Now that I am alluding to Turenne, Condé, and other distinguished men, I may mention, as a curious fact, that I never, by any chance, heard Napoleon utter the name of Frederick the Great. Yet many circumstances prove that Frederick held a high rank in Napoleon's regard. The large silver watch, or kind of morning-bell, which hangs by the fire-place in the Emperor's apartment at Saint-Helena;—the eagerness with which Napoleon, on his entrance into Potsdam, seized the sword of the Prussian hero, exclaiming, "Let those who will seek other spoil; I value this beyond millions!"—finally, his long and silent contemplation of the tomb of Frederick—sufficiently attest the deep interest which Napoleon attached to every thing connected with that prince.

In the Dictionary of Sieges and Battles, which the Emperor was looking over to-day, he found his name mentioned in every page; but connected with anecdotes either totally false, or at

least misstated. This led him to exclaim against the whole swarm of inferior writers, and their unworthy abuse of the pen. "Literature," he said, "had become the food of the vulgar, while it ought to have been reserved exclusively for people of refined taste.

"For example," said the Emperor, "it is affirmed that when at Arcola, I one night took the post of a sentinel who had fallen asleep. This idea was doubtless conceived by a citizen, by a lawyer perhaps; but certainly not by a soldier. The author evidently wishes to represent me in an unfavourable point of view; and he of course imagined that nothing could reflect greater credit on me than the story he has invented. He certainly wrote it with the view of doing me honour; but he knew not that I was totally incapable of the action he describes. I was much too fatigued for any such thing; and it is very probable that I should myself have fallen asleep before the sentinel."

We then enumerated about fifty or sixty great battles that had been fought by the Emperor. Some one present having asked which was the greatest, the Emperor replied that it was difficult to answer that question, since it was first necessary to inquire what was meant by the greatest battle. "Mine," continued he, "cannot be judged of detachedly. They had no

“unity of place, action, or design. They formed
“merely a portion of extensive plans. They can
“therefore only be judged by their results. The
“battle of Marengo, which was so long undecided,
“procured for us the dominion of all Italy; Ulm
“annihilated a whole army; Jena threw the whole
“Prussian monarchy into our hands; Friedland
“opened to us the Russian empire; and Eckmühl
“decided the fate of a war. The battle of Moscow
“was one in which the greatest talent was displayed,
“and in which the fewest results were
“obtained. Waterloo, where every thing failed,
“would, had every thing succeeded, have saved
“France, and re-established Europe,” &c.

Madame de Montholon having asked what troops might be accounted the best; “Those
“who gain victories, Madam,” replied the Emperor.
“But,” added he, “soldiers are capricious
“and inconstant, like you ladies. The best
“troops were the Carthaginians under Hannibal;
“the Romans under the Scipios; the Macedonians
“under Alexander; and the Prussians
“under Frederick.” He thought, however, he
might safely affirm that the French troops were,
of all others, those who could most easily be rendered
the best, and preserved so.

“With my complete guard of forty or fifty
“thousand men, I would have pledged myself to
“march through all Europe. It may, perhaps,
“be possible to produce troops as good as those

“ who composed my army of Italy and Austerlitz ;
 “ but certainly nothing can ever surpass them.”

The Emperor, who had dwelt for a considerable time on this subject, which was so interesting to him, suddenly recollecting himself, asked what it was o'clock. He was informed it was eleven. —“ Well,” said he, rising, “ we at least have the
 “ merit of having got through our evening without
 “ the help of either tragedy or comedy.”

Madame de Cottin's Mathilde, &c.—All Frenchmen interested in Napoleon.—Desaix and Napoleon at Marengo.—Sir Sidney Smith.—Cause of General Bonaparte's return to France.—Account of his voyage.—Instances of the caprice of Fortune.

29th.—About two o'clock the Emperor desired me to attend him in his chamber, and he gave me some private orders:

At four o'clock I rejoined him. I found him sitting under the tent, surrounded by all his suite; he was swinging backward and forward on his chair, laughing, talking, and making every effort to be cheerful, while, at the same time, he continually repeated that he felt dull and languid. He rose and took a drive in the calash.

After dinner the conversation turned on romance writing. Some one mentioned Madame Cottin's Mathilde, the scene of which is laid in Syria. The Emperor asked the individual who

had alluded to the work, whether he had ever seen Madame Cottin, whether she liked him (Napoleon), whether her work was favourable to him, &c. ; but as he did not receive a ready answer he thus continued : “ But every body “ has loved me and hated me : every one has “ been for me and against me by turns. I may “ truly say there is not a single Frenchman in “ whom I have not excited interest. All must “ have loved me, from Collot d’Herbois (had he “ lived) to the Prince de Condé ; only not all at “ the same time, but at different intervals and “ periods. I was like the sun crossing the equator “ in his course through the ecliptic. According “ as my influence was felt, in each different cli- “ mate, all hopes expanded, and I was blessed “ and adored ; but when I had departed, when “ I was no longer understood, unfavourable sen- “ timents arose.”

Egypt next became the subject of conversation ; and the Emperor again sketched the characters of Kleber and Desaix. The latter joined the First Consul on the eve of the battle of Marengo. Napoleon asked him how he could have thought of signing the capitulation of Egypt ; since the army was sufficiently numerous to maintain possession of it. “ We ought not to have lost Egypt,” he observed.—“ That’s very true,” replied Desaix, “ and the army was certainly numerous enough “ to enable us to retain possession of the country. .

“ But the General-in-chief left us; and at that distance from home, the General-in-chief is not a single man in the army; he is the half, the three-fourths, the five-sixths of it. I had no alternative but to resign the possession of the country. I doubt whether I could have succeeded had I acted otherwise: besides, it would have been criminal to make the attempt, for in such a case it is a soldier's duty to obey, and I did so.”

Desaix, immediately after his arrival at Marengo, obtained the command of the reserve. Towards the end of the battle, and amidst the greatest apparent disorder, Napoleon came up to him:—“Well,” said Desaix, “affairs are going on very badly, the battle is lost. I can only secure the retreat. Is it not so?”—“Quite the contrary,” said the First Consul; “to me the result of the battle was never for a moment doubtful. Those masses which you see in disorder on the right and left, are marching to form themselves in your rear. The battle is gained. Order your column to advance: you have but to reap the glory of the victory.”

The Emperor afterwards spoke of Sir Sidney Smith. He had, he said, just read in the *Moniteur*, the documents relating to the convention of El-Arish, in which he remarked that Sir Sidney had evinced a great share of intelligence and integrity. The Emperor said he be-

wildered Kleber by the stories which he made him believe. But when Sir Sidney received intelligence of the refusal of the English Government to ratify the treaty, he was very much dissatisfied, and behaved very honourably to the French army. "After all," said the Emperor, "Sir Sidney Smith is not a bad man. I now entertain a better opinion of him than I did; particularly after what I daily witness in the conduct of his confederates."

It was Sir Sidney Smith, who, by communicating the European journals to Napoleon, brought about the departure of the General-in-chief, and consequently the *dénouement* of Brumaire. The French, on their return from St. Jean d'Acre, were totally ignorant of all that had taken place in Europe for several months. Napoleon, eager to obtain intelligence, sent a flag of truce on board the Turkish admiral's ship, under the pretence of treating for the ransom of the prisoners whom he had taken at Abookir, not doubting but the envoy would be stopped by Sir Sidney Smith, who carefully prevented all direct communication between the French and the Turks. Accordingly the French flag of truce received directions from Sir Sidney to go on board his ship. He experienced the handsomest treatment; and the English commander having among other things ascertained that the disasters of Italy were quite unknown to Napoleon, he in-

dulged in the malicious pleasure of sending him a file of newspapers.

Napoleon spent the whole night in his tent, perusing the papers; and he came to the determination of immediately proceeding to Europe, to repair the disasters of France, and, if possible, to save her from destruction.

Admiral Ganthaume, who brought Napoleon from Egypt in the frigate *Le Muiron*, frequently related to me the details of his voyage. The Admiral remained at head-quarters after the destruction of the fleet at Abookir.

Shortly after the return from Syria, and immediately after a communication with the English squadron, the General-in-chief directed Ganthaume to proceed forthwith to Alexandria, to fit out secretly, and with all possible speed, one of the Venetian frigates that were lying off that port, and to let him know when the vessel was ready to sail.

These orders were executed. The General-in-chief, who was making a tour of inspection, proceeded to an unfrequented part of the coast, with a party of his guides. Boats were in readiness to receive them, and they were conveyed to the frigate without going near Alexandria.

The frigate sailed that very evening, in order to get out of sight of the English cruisers, and the fleet that was anchored at Abookir, before daylight. Unfortunately a calm ensued while

the vessel was still within sight of the coast, and from the mast-tops the English ships at Aboukir were still discernible.

The utmost alarm prevailed on board the frigate. It was proposed to return by Alexandria; but Napoleon opposed this suggestion. The die was cast; and happily they soon got beyond the reach of observation.

The voyage was very long and very unfavourable. The idea of being overtaken by the English frequently occasioned alarm. Though no one knew the intentions of the General, each formed his own conjectures, and the utmost anxiety prevailed. Napoleon alone was calm and undisturbed. During the greater part of the day he used to shut himself up in his cabin, where, as Ganthaume informed me, he employed himself in reading sometimes the Bible; and sometimes the Koran. Whenever he appeared on deck he displayed the most cheerful and easy air, and conversed on the most indifferent subjects.

General Menou was the last person to whom Napoleon spoke on shore. He said to him, "My dear General, you must take care of yourselves here. If I have the happiness to reach France, the reign of ranting shall be at an end."

On a perusal of the papers furnished by Sir Sidney Smith, Napoleon formed such an idea of

the disasters of France, that he concluded the enemy had crossed the Alps, and was already in possession of several of our Southern Departments. Thus when the frigate approached the shores of Europe, Napoleon directed the Admiral to make for Collioure and Port-Vendre, situated at the extremity of the Gulf of Lyons. A gale of wind drove them upon the coast of Corsica. They then entered Ajaccio, where they obtained intelligence of the state of affairs in France.

Ganthaume informed me, that he saw at Ajaccio, the house that was occupied by Napoleon's family, the patrimonial abode. The arrival of their celebrated countryman immediately set all the inhabitants of the island in motion. A crowd of cousins came to welcome him, and the streets were thronged with people.

Napoleon again set sail, and the frigate now steered towards Marseilles and Toulon. However, just as they were on the point of reaching the place of their destination, a new source of alarm arose. At sunset, on the larboard of the frigate, and precisely in the sun's rays, they observed thirty sail making towards them with the wind abaft. Ganthaume proposed that the long boat of the frigate should be manned with the best sailors, and that the General should get on board, and, by favour of the night, endeavour to gain the shore. But Napoleon declined this pro-

position, observing that there would always be time enough for that mode of escape; and he directed the captain to continue his course as though nothing had occurred. Meanwhile night set in, and the enemy's signals were heard, at a distance, and right astern: thus it appeared that the frigate had not been observed. Next day they anchored at Frejus. The rest is well known.

The Emperor concluded the evening's conversation, by relating to us three curious instances of the caprice of fortune, which took place in the same quarter of the world, and about the same period.

A corporal, who deserted from one of the regiments of the army of Egypt, joined the Mamelukes, and was made a Bey. After his elevation, he wrote a letter to his former General.

A fat sutler's wife who had followed the French army, became the favourite of the Pasha of Jerusalem. She could not write, but she sent a messenger with her compliments to her old friends, assuring them, that she would never forget her country, but would always afford protection to the French and the Christians. "She was," said the Emperor, "the Zaira of the day."

A young peasant-girl of Cape Corso, being seized in a fishing-boat by corsairs, was conveyed to Barbary, and subsequently became the

ruling favourite of the King of Morocco. The Emperor, after some diplomatic communications, caused the brother of this young girl to be brought from Corsica to Paris, and, after having him suitably fitted out, sent him to his sister; but he never afterwards heard of them.

It was late when the Emperor retired to rest; he had spent upwards of three hours in conversation.

30th.—I attended the Emperor at four o'clock. He had been engaged in dictating under the tent. The Governor had returned answers to the letters which M. de Montholon addressed to him by the Emperor's orders.

To the first communication, containing the protest against the treaty of the 2d of August, and various other complaints, no answer was returned, except that the Governor wished to be informed what letter he had kept back. This we could not tell him, since we had not seen the letters. We had asked *him* that question; and he was the only person capable of answering it.

To the second letter, which stated that the Emperor would not receive strangers at Longwood unless they were admitted by the Grand Marshal's passes, as was usual in the time of Admiral Cockburn, the Governor replied, that he had been sorry to see General Bonaparte troubled by intrusive visitors at Longwood, and that he wished to prevent such importunity for

the future. This was a most revolting piece of irony, considering the situation in which the Emperor was placed, and the tenor of M. de Montholon's letter.

After dinner the Emperor retired to the drawing-room, and desired us all to seat ourselves round the table, to form, as he said, an academic sitting. He began to dictate to us on some subjects; but when the parts that had been written were read over to him, he resolved to cancel them. Conversation was then resumed, and was kept up for a considerable time, partly in a serious, and partly in a lively strain. It was near one o'clock when the Emperor retired. For some time past we have sat up later than we used to do. This is a good sign: the Emperor feels better, and he is more cheerful and talkative than he lately was.

Historical Doubts.—The Regency of the Duke of Orleans.—

Madame de Maintenon.—Her marriage with Louis XIV.

31.—The Emperor rose very early, and took a turn round the park alone. On his return, not wishing to have any one disturbed, he desired my son, who had risen, to sit down under the tent, and write to his dictation: in this manner he employed himself for two hours. We all breakfasted with him.

We took an airing in the calash. The conversation turned on the doubts that were attached

to various points of history. The Emperor made some very curious remarks on this subject, and concluded by alluding to the period of the Regency. "If," said he, "Louis XV. had died in his childhood, and nothing was more possible, who would have doubted but that the Duke of Orleans had poisoned the whole royal family? Who would have ventured to defend him? Had not one child survived, that prince could not have had justice rendered to him." The Emperor then alluded to the character of the Duke of Orleans, and particularly to his errors in the affair of the legitimated princes. "There he degraded himself," said Napoleon; "not to say, however, that their cause was good. Louis XIV. usurped a right in nominating them to the succession. On the extinction of the Royal House, the choice of a sovereign is unquestionably the prerogative of the nation. The act of Louis XIV. was, doubtless, an error into which that monarch was betrayed by his own greatness. He conceived, that every thing emanating from him must necessarily be great. Yet he seemed to entertain a suspicion that the world might not be exactly of his opinion; for he took precautions to consolidate his work by giving his natural children in marriage to the legitimate princes and princesses of the royal family. As to the regency, it is very certain that it devolved by right on the Duke of Orleans. Louis

“XIV.’s will was a piece of downright absurdity :
“it was a violation of our fundamental laws.
“France was a monarchy, and he gave us a
“republic for a regency.”

The Emperor then mentioned Madame de Maintenon, whose career, he said, was most extraordinary. She was, he observed, the Bianca Capello* of her age; but less romantic, and not quite so amusing. Pursuing his historical doubts, he said a great deal on the subject of Madame de Maintenon’s marriage with Louis XIV. He declared that he was sometimes inclined to regard the circumstance as very problematical, in spite of all that was said about it in the memoirs of the time.

“The fact is,” observed he, “that there does
“not, and never did, exist any official and au-
“thentic proof of the marriage. What could be
“Louis XIV.’s object in keeping the measure so
“strictly secret, both from his contemporaries
“and posterity? and how happened it that the

* A noble Venetian lady of great beauty, whose adventures form a truly romantic and dramatic history. She eloped from her father’s house to follow a young Florentine pedlar, and was reduced to the greatest wretchedness. She subsequently became Grand Duchess of Tuscany, and she closed her career by coolly poisoning herself at table, in a fit of vexation at seeing the Grand Duke, her husband, partake of a poisoned dish, which she had prepared for her brother-in-law, Cardinal de Medicis, who, on his part, obstinately abstained from tasting it.

“Noailles family, to whom Madame de Maintenon was related, suffered nothing to transpire on the subject? This was the more singular, considering that Madame de Maintenon survived Louis XIV.”

The Emperor, feeling somewhat fatigued this evening, retired to rest early. He seemed indisposed and low-spirited.

The French Ministers, &c. — Anecdote of M. Daru. — Faded finery at Saint-Helena.

Sunday, September 1st.—The Emperor went out about three o'clock: he said he had felt feeble, languid, and dull throughout the whole of the day. We all felt indisposed in the same way: it was the effect of the weather. We strolled out to the great path of the wood, while the calash was preparing; but we had no sooner reached the extremity of the path, than a shower of rain came on. It was so heavy that the Emperor was obliged to take refuge at the foot of a gum-tree, the scanty foliage of which, however, afforded but little shelter. The calash soon arrived to take us up; and we were returning home with all speed, when we perceived the Governor at some distance, making towards us. The Emperor immediately ordered the coachman to turn, observing, that of two evils he would choose the least; and we took a circuitous route homewards, in spite of the

wind and rain. We, however, escaped Sir Hudson Lowe: that was an advantage.

Before dinner, the Emperor, in his chamber, took a review of the individuals who had been attached to his household, the council of state, and the different ministerial departments. Alluding to M. Daru, he observed, that he was a man distinguished for probity, and for his indefatigable application to business. At the retreat from Moscow, M. Daru's firmness and presence of mind were remarkable, and the Emperor often afterwards said, that he laboured like an ox, while he displayed the courage of a lion.

Business seemed to be M. Daru's element; he was incessantly occupied. Soon after he was appointed Secretary of State, one of his friends was expressing a fear that the immense business in which he would thenceforth be absorbed might prove too much for him; "On the contrary," replied Daru, "I assure you that since I have entered upon my new functions, I seem to have absolutely nothing to do." On one occasion only was his vigour ever known to relax. The Emperor called him up, after midnight, to write to his dictation: M. Daru was so completely overcome by fatigue, that he scarcely knew what he was writing; at length he could hold out no longer, and he fell asleep over his paper. After enjoying a sound nap, he awoke, and, to his astonishment, perceived the Emperor by his

side quietly engaged in writing. The shortness of the candles informed him that his slumber had been of tolerable duration. While he sat for a few moments overwhelmed with confusion, his eyes met those of the Emperor, who said to him: "Well, Sir, you see I have been doing your work, since you would not do it yourself. I suppose you have eaten a hearty supper, and passed a pleasant evening; but business must not be neglected."—"I pass a pleasant evening, Sire!" said M. Daru. "I have been for several nights without sleep, and closely engaged. Of this your Majesty now sees the consequence, and I am exceedingly sorry for it."—"Why did you not inform me of this?" said the Emperor, "I do not want to kill you. Go to bed. Good night, M. Daru." This was certainly a characteristic trait, and one that was well calculated to remove the false notions which were generally entertained respecting Napoleon's harshness of temper. But I know not by what fatality facts of this kind were concealed from our knowledge; while any absurd inventions unfavourable to the Emperor, were so actively circulated. Was it because the courtiers reserved their flattery for the interior of the palace, and sought to create a sort of counterpoise, by assuming elsewhere an air of opposition and independence? Be this as it may, had any individual related traits of the

above kind in the saloons of Paris, he would probably have been told that he had invented them, or would have been looked upon as a fool for giving credit to them.

The Grand Marshal and his lady came to dine at Longwood, which they were accustomed to do every Sunday.

During dinner the Emperor jokingly alluded to the faded finery of the ladies. He said, their dresses would soon resemble the gay trappings of those old misers who purchase their wardrobes from the dealers in second-hand clothes; they no longer displayed the freshness and elegance that characterized the millinery of Lerbi, Despeaux, Herbault, &c. The ladies craved indulgence for Saint-Helena; and their husbands reminded the Emperor of his fastidiousness with regard to female dress at the Tuileries, which, it was remarked, had proved the ruin of some families. At this the Emperor laughed, and said that the idea of his scrupulous taste in dress was a mere invention of the ladies of the Court, who made it a pretence, or an excuse, for their extravagance. The conversation then turned on our splendour at Saint-Helena. The Emperor said that he had told Marchand he would wear every day the hunting-coat which he then had on, until it should be past the possibility of being worn any longer: it was already very far gone.

Both before and after dinner the Emperor played a few games at chess: he felt low-spirited and nervous, and retired to bed early.

The Campaign of Saxony in 1813.—Reflections.—Analysis.
—Battles of Lutzen and Wurchen.—Negotiations.—
Battles of Dresden, Leipsick, Hanau, &c.

2.—To-day there was some horse-racing at the camp, at which one of the Emperor's suite was present.

The Emperor did not go out until late, and he walked to the calash. The wind blew very hard, and he renounced his intention of taking a drive. He sat down beneath the tent; but finding it not very pleasant without doors, he retired to his library, where he took up the Letters of Madame de Chateauroux, looked through the Expedition to Bohemia, and analysed the Life of Marshal de Belle-Isle. He again went out to take a walk in the garden; but he returned almost immediately, and directed me to follow him.

He took up a book relating to our last campaigns, and after perusing it for some time, he threw it down, saying, "It is a downright rhapsody—a mere tissue of contradictions and absurdities." He conversed for a considerable time on the too celebrated campaign of Saxony: his observations were principally moral, and few or none military; I noted down the following as the most remarkable:—"That memorable cam-

“paign,” said he, “will be regarded as the triumph of courage in the youth of France; of intrigue and cunning in English diplomacy; of intelligence on the part of the Russians; and of effrontery in the Austrian Cabinet. It will mark the period of the disorganization of political societies—the great separation of subjects from their sovereigns: finally, the decay of the first military virtues; viz. fidelity, loyalty, and honour. It will be in vain to write and comment, to invent falsehoods and suppositions; we must always arrive at this odious and mortifying result: time will develop both its truth and its consequences.

“But it is a remarkable circumstance, in this case, that all discredit is equally removed from sovereigns, soldiers, and people. It was entirely the work of a few military intriguers and headlong politicians, who, under the specious pretext of shaking off the foreign yoke and recovering the national independence, purposely sold their own rulers to envious rival Cabinets. The results soon became manifest: the King of Saxony forfeited half his possessions, and the King of Bavaria was compelled to make valuable restitutions. What did the traitors care for that? They enjoyed their rewards and their wealth, and those who had proved themselves most upright and innocent, were visited with the severest punishment.

“ The King of Saxony, the most honest man who
“ ever wielded a sceptre, was stripped of half
“ his provinces ; and the King of Denmark, so
“ faithful to all his engagements, was deprived
“ of his crown ! This, however, was affirmed to
“ be the restoration and the triumph of mo-
“ rality ! Such is the distributive justice of
“ this world ! . . .

“ To the honour of human nature, and even to
“ the honour of Kings, I must once more declare
“ that never was more virtue manifested than
“ amidst the baseness which marked this period.
“ I never for a moment had cause to complain in-
“ dividually of the Princes our allies. The good
“ King of Saxony continued faithful to the last ;
“ the King of Bavaria loyally avowed to me, that
“ he was no longer his own master ; the generosity
“ of the King of Wurtemberg was particularly re-
“ markable ; the Prince of Baden yielded only to
“ force, and at the very last extremity. All, I must
“ render them this justice, gave me due notice of
“ the storm that was gathering, in order that I
“ might adopt the necessary precautions. But, on
“ the other hand, how odious was the conduct
“ of subaltern agents ! Can military parade ob-
“ literate the infamy of the Saxons, who return-
“ ed to our ranks for the purpose of destroying
“ us ? Their treachery became proverbial among
“ the troops, who still use the term *Saebner* to
“ designate a soldier who assassinates another.

“ To crown all, it was a Frenchman, a man for
“ whom French blood purchased a crown, a
“ nurseling of France, who gave the finishing
“ stroke to our disasters!

“ But in the situation in which I was placed;
“ the circumstance which served to fill up the
“ measure of my distress, was, that I beheld the
“ decisive hour gradually approach. The star
“ grew dim; I felt the reins slip from my hands;
“ and yet I could do nothing. Only a sudden
“ turn of fortune could save us: to treat for, or
“ to conclude any compact, would have been to
“ yield like a fool to the enemy. I was con-
“ vinced of this, and the event sufficiently proved
“ that I was not mistaken. We had, therefore;
“ no alternative but to fight; and every day by
“ some fatality or other our chances diminished.
“ Treason began to penetrate our ranks. Great
“ numbers of our troops sank under the effects of
“ fatigue and discouragement. My lieutenants
“ became dispirited, and consequently unfortu-
“ nate. They were no longer the same men, who
“ figured at the commencement of the Revolution,
“ or who had distinguished themselves in the
“ brilliant moments of my success. I have been
“ informed, that some presumed to allege in
“ their defence, that at first they fought for the Re-
“ public, and for their country; while afterwards
“ they fought only for a single man, for his indi-
“ vidual interests and his ambition.

“ Base subterfuge !—Ask the young and brave
“ soldiers, and the officers of intermediate rank
“ in the French army, whether such a calculation
“ ever entered their thoughts ;—whether
“ they ever saw before them any thing but the
“ enemy, or behind them any thing, save the honour,
“ glory, and triumph of France ! These
“ men never fought better than at the period
“ alluded to. Why dissemble ? Why not make
“ a candid avowal ? The truth is, that, generally
“ speaking, the officers of high rank had gained
“ every object of their ambition. They were
“ sated with wealth and honours. They had
“ drunk of the cup of pleasure, and they hence-
“ forth wished for repose, which they would have
“ purchased at any price. The sacred flame was
“ extinguished ; they were willing to sink to the
“ level of Louis XV.’s marshals.”

If the words above quoted require any comment ; if the sense here, or in other similar passages of my journal, should be found to be incomplete, I must not be held responsible. I have literally noted down what Napoleon uttered, and I am accountable for nothing more. I have already several times mentioned that when the Emperor spoke, I never ventured to interrupt him by questions or remarks. On the subject of the celebrated campaign of 1813, I may mention, that, from various detached conversations of Napoleon, which I have not noted down at the

time when they occurred, he was far from being deceived as to the crisis which threatened France, and he correctly estimated the full extent of the risk by which he was surrounded in the opening of the campaign. On his return from Moscow, he saw the danger, and endeavoured to avert it. From that moment he resolved on making the greatest sacrifices; but the choice of the proper moment for proclaiming these sacrifices was the difficult point, and that which chiefly occupied his consideration. If the influence of material power be great, he said, the power of opinion is still greater; it is magical in its effects. His object was to preserve it; and a false step, a word inadvertently uttered, might for ever have destroyed the illusion. He found it indispensable to exert the greatest circumspection, and to manifest the utmost apparent confidence in his own strength. It was, above all, necessary to look forward to the future.

His great fault, his fundamental error, was in supposing that his adversaries always had as much judgment and knowledge of their own interests as he himself possessed. From the first, he said, he suspected that Austria would avail herself of the difficulties in which he was placed, in order to secure great advantages to herself; but he never could have believed that the monarch was so blind, or his advisers so treacherous, as to wish to bring about his (Napoleon's) downfall,

and thereby leave their own country henceforth at the mercy of the uncontrolled power of Russia. The Emperor pursued the same train of reasoning with regard to the Confederation of the Rhine, which, he admitted, might, perhaps, have cause to be dissatisfied with him; but which, he concluded, must still more dread the idea of falling into the power of Austria and Prussia. Napoleon conceived that the same arguments were not inapplicable even to Prussia; which, he presumed, could not wish entirely to destroy a counterpoise that was necessary to her independence and her very existence. Napoleon made full allowance for the hatred of his enemies, and for the dissatisfaction and malevolence which, perhaps, existed among his allies; but he could not suppose that either wished for his destruction, since he felt himself to be so necessary to all; and he acted accordingly.

Such was Napoleon's ruling idea throughout the whole of this important period. It was the key of his whole conduct to the very last hour, and even to the moment of his fall. It must be carefully borne in mind, for it serves to explain many things, perhaps all—his hostile attitude, his haughty language, his refusal to conclude arrangements, his determination to continue the contest, &c.

If he should be successful, he thought he could then make honourable sacrifices, and a glorious

peace; while the illusion of his superiority would remain undiminished. If, on the contrary, he should experience reverses, it would still be time enough to make concessions; and he concluded that the interest of the Austrians, and all true Germans, must secure to him the support of their arms, or their diplomacy; for he supposed they were convinced, as he himself was, that his power had henceforth become indispensable to the structure, repose, security, and existence of Europe. But that of which he entertained doubts proved most prosperous: victory continued faithful to him; his first successes were admirable, and almost incredible. On the other hand, that which he believed to be infallible was precisely that which failed:—his natural allies betrayed him, and hastened his downfall.

In support of what I have just alleged, and with the view of throwing light on the Emperor's remarks above quoted, I shall here insert a brief recapitulation of the events of that fatal campaign. In France, at the time, we were made acquainted only with its results; the bulletins gave us but little information, and we received no foreign publications. Besides, the period is now distant, and so many important events have since occurred to occupy public attention, that these details may be partly forgotten by those who once knew them. They are here arranged in chronological order.

I extract this recapitulation from a work written by M. de Montveran, which was published in 1820. The author has bestowed great care on the collection of official and authentic documents; and he has availed himself of the information furnished by preceding writers. I am therefore of opinion that this work is unquestionably the best that has been written on the subject. M. de Montveran is far from being favourable to Napoleon; however, it is but just to admit, that he maintains a tone of impartiality which does credit to his character, while, at the same time, it enhances the merit of his work.

EVENTS.—“ On the 2d of May, Napoleon opened the campaign of Saxony by the victory of Lutzen, a most surprising event, and one which reflects immortal honour on the conquerors. A newly embodied army, without cavalry, marched to face the veteran bands of Russia and Prussia; but the genius of the Chief, and the valour of the young troops whom he commanded, made amends for all. The French had no cavalry; but bodies of infantry advanced in squares, flanked by an immense mass of artillery, presenting the appearance of so many moving fortresses. Eighty-four thousand infantry, consisting of French troops, or troops of the Confederation, with only 4000 cavalry, beat 107,000 Russians or Prussians, with more than 20,000 cavalry. Alexander and the

King of Prussia witnessed the conflict in person. Their celebrated guards could not maintain their ground against our young conscripts. The enemy lost 18,000 men; our loss amounted to 12,000, and our want of cavalry prevented us from reaping the usual fruit of our conquests. However, the moral result of the victory was immense. The enthusiasm of our troops resumed its ascendancy; and the Emperor recovered the full influence of opinion. The Allies retreated before him without venturing the chances of another battle*.

“On the 9th, Napoleon entered Dresden as a conqueror, conducting back to his capital the King of Saxony, who, from the consciousness of his own interests, as well as the wish to remain faithful to his engagements, had retired on the approach of the Allies, whose proposals he had constantly rejected.

“On the 21st and 22d, Napoleon again tri-

* At the victory of Lutzen the Emperor sustained a severe loss by the death of the brave and loyal Marshal Bessières, Duke of Istria, who was so sincerely devoted to Napoleon. The King of Saxony raised a monument to his memory on the very spot where he received his death-blow. By a singular approximation of glory, the monument is similar to that of Gustavus Adolphus, and is erected not far distant from it. It consists of a simple stone surrounded by poplars. This is not the only instance in which foreigners have rendered that homage to the memory of brave Frenchmen, which their own countrymen have neglected.

umphed at Wurchen and Bautzen. The Allies had chosen their ground, which the brilliant campaigns of Frederick had rendered classic. They had intrenched themselves, and they thought their position impregnable: but every thing yielded to the grand views and well-conducted plans of the French general, who, at the very commencement of the conflict, declared himself to be certain of the victory.

“ The Allies lost 18,000 or 20,000 men. They were unable to retain their position, and they retired in disorder. The Emperor pursued them. He had already passed through Lusatia, crossed Silesia, and had reached the Oder, when the Allies demanded an armistice to treat for peace; and Napoleon, thinking the favourable moment had arrived, granted it.

“ On the 4th of June, the armistice of Pleissvitz was entered into. This event had the most decisive influence in producing our misfortunes; it was the fatal knot to which were attached all the chances and destinies of the campaign.

“ Should the Emperor have granted this armistice, or have followed up his advantages? This was, at the moment, a problem which time, and the events that have proved so fatal to us, solved when too late. The Emperor, crowned with victory, halted before his fallen enemies, to whom he could now make concessions without compromising his dignity; his sacrifices could be

regarded only as moderation. Austria, hitherto uncertain as to what course she should pursue, struck with our success, rejoined us. Napoleon now reasonably hoped to see the ratification of a peace which he wished for, and he would not let slip so favourable an opportunity, to incur the risk of a check that might have lost all, and which was the more likely to take place since his army had marched forward in haste and in the utmost disorder, and his rear was uncovered and crossed by the enemy. He conceived that the armistice, at all events, afforded him an opportunity of concentrating and organizing his forces, and opening his communications with France, by which means he would be enabled to receive immense reinforcements, and to create a corps of cavalry."

Unfortunately, in spite of all the Emperor's calculations, this fatal armistice proved advantageous only to our enemies; it was maintained for nearly three months, and it served only to bring about their triumph and our destruction. Austria, who was still our ally, by a deception, which history will justly characterize, availed herself of that title to oppose us with the greater advantage. Requiring delay, she obtained it. The Russians, who were waiting for reinforcements, received them; the Prussians doubled their numbers; the English subsidies arrived, and the Swedish army rejoined. Secret associations were put in full activity; a general in-

surrection of the whole German population was excited; while, at the same time, the defection of the Cabinets of the Rhenish Confederation, and the corruption of the Allied officers, were successfully effected. Treason also began to creep into the superior ranks. General Jomini, the Chief of the Staff of one of our army corps, went over to the enemy with all the information he had been able to collect respecting the plans of the campaign, &c.

The result sufficiently proved to the Emperor all the errors of the armistice, and convinced him that he would have done better had he obstinately pressed forward; for had he continued successful, the Allies, alarmed at finding themselves deprived of the aid of Austria, with whom they could no longer have maintained intelligence, cut off from the Prince of Sweden, who would have remained behind, seeing the fortresses of the Oder unblockaded, and the war carried back to Poland, to the gates of Dantzick, amidst a people ready to rise in a mass—the Allies, I say, would infallibly have concluded a treaty. If, on the other hand, we had sustained a reverse, the consequences could not have been more fatal than those which were actually experienced. The wise calculations of the Emperor ruined him: that which he might have regarded as inconsiderateness and temerity would probably have saved him.

Congress of Prague on the 29th of July.—

“After two months of difficulties and obstacles, the Congress opened under the mediation of Austria; if, indeed, the term Congress can be properly applied to an assembly in which no deliberations took place, and of which one party had determined beforehand that none should be held.

“The mediator and the adversaries were equally our enemies: all concurred in their hostility to us, and they had already decided on the war. Why then did they wait? Because Austria still possessed a shade of modesty, and she wished, in the debates, to gain a pretence for declaring war against us. Prussia and Russia, on their part, thought it necessary to preserve their credit in Europe by this false manifestation of their desire and their efforts to preserve peace. All were merely affixing the seal to their Machiavellic system.

“To them the real Congress was not the assembly at Prague; it had already taken place two months before. Time has since thrown into our hands the authentic records of the intrigues, machinations, and even treaties, in which they were engaged during that interval. It is now evident that the armistice was resorted to by pretended friends and avowed enemies, only for the sake of artfully cementing the union that was to effect the overthrow of Napoleon; and

creating the triumvirate which was destined to oppress Europe while it pretended to deliver her.

“ Austria had, from interested motives, long delayed the opening of the Congress of Prague. Resolved to repair her losses at any price, she did not hesitate to sacrifice her honour, the better to ensure her success. She masked her perfidy under the disguise of friendship. Declaring herself our ally, and eagerly complimenting us on every new triumph, she insisted, with an air of the warmest interest, on being our mediatrix, when she had already entered into an agreement to make common cause with our enemies. Her propositions were accepted. But she wished to gain time for her preparations; and thus every day fresh obstacles were started, while the utmost tardiness was evinced in settling them.

“ Austria at first offered her services as a mediatrix, but, changing her tone in proportion as her warlike preparations advanced, she soon signified her wish to become an arbitress, at the same time intimating that she expected great advantages in return for the services she might render. At length, after an armistice of two months, when Austria thought herself perfectly prepared, and when every thing was agreed upon among the coalesced powers, they opened the Congress, not to treat of peace, and to establish amicable relations, but to develop their real sentiments, and to insult us unreservedly. The Russians,

in particular, behaved with unusual ill grace. They were no longer the Russians who anxiously solicited an armistice after the routs of Lutzen, Wurchen, and Bautzen. They now looked upon themselves as the dictators of Europe, which, indeed, they have since really become, by the spirit of their diplomacy, the blindness of their allies, their geographical situation, and finally by the force of things. But whom did Alexander select as his minister to this Congress? Precisely one who, by personal circumstances, was, according to the laws of France, unqualified for such a post;—one who was by birth a Frenchman. Certainly it would have been difficult to offer a more personal and direct insult. Napoleon felt it; but he concealed his resentment.

“ Under such circumstances much could not be expected from the Congress: during the few days of its sitting, our enemies merely drew up a series of notes more or less acrimonious, while the conduct of Austria was marked by the most odious partiality.

“ On the 10th of August, only two days after the first meeting of the negotiators, the Russians and Prussians haughtily withdrew; and on the 12th, Austria, that faithful ally, that obsequious and devoted friend, who had shewn herself so eager to become our mediatrix and arbitress, suddenly laid aside those titles to declare war

against us, allowing no interval save that required for the signature of the manifesto, which she had been for two months secretly concerting with her new allies, and which will ever be a record of her shame and degradation, since it acknowledges the sacrifice of an Archduchess, to the necessity of crouching before a detested ally. History will decide on these acts. However, to the honour of the throne and of morality, there is reason to believe that most of these transactions, and in particular the real course of affairs, was unknown to the Emperor Francis, who is reputed to be the most gentle, upright, moral, and pious of princes. It has been affirmed that many of these acts were determined on without his knowledge, and that others were represented to him under a totally false colouring. The whole of these disgraceful proceedings must be attributed to British gold, to the *finesse* of Russian diplomacy, and to the passions of the Austrian aristocracy, excited by the English faction which at that time ruled Europe.

“The Congress broke up with mutual feelings of irritation. The Emperor then expressed his sentiments in official and public documents, in the most forcible language, and in a tone of the highest superiority. But this he did with the view of creating a favourable impression on the public mind; for he remained so far master of

himself, that though hastening to take up arms, he nevertheless demanded a renewal of the negotiations, which were resumed at Prague. He deemed it advisable not to lose the advantages of constant communications: Austria would be easily detached if we obtained advantages, and she would be easily convinced if we sustained reverses. Such was the Congress of Prague.

“ It will perhaps be asked whether Napoleon was duped by this Congress, and the circumstances arising out of it. The answer is, that he was not, or at least not entirely. If he had not a knowledge of every fact, he was never for a moment mistaken as to the intentions and sentiments that were really entertained.

“ Napoleon, from the moment of his first victory at Lutzen, had authentically proposed a general congress. This he conceived to be the only means of treating for universal peace, insuring the independence of France and the guarantee of the modern system. Every other mode of negotiation appeared to him merely a lure; and if he seemed to depart from this principle, in accepting the mediation of Austria, and agreeing to the conferences of Prague, it was because, in proportion as time advanced, affairs became more complicated. The defeat of Vittoria, the evacuation of Spain, and the

spirit of the French people, which was declining, had considerably diminished his prosperity. He could accurately guess the result of the negotiations: but he wished to gain time in his turn, and to await the course of events. He was not deceived as to the part which Austria would act; and without knowing precisely how far she would carry her deception, he could well discern, from her mysterious conduct and delays, what was likely to be her determination. At Dresden he had even had personal conversations with the first negotiator of the Austrian government, who had sufficiently indicated the line of conduct he intended to pursue. The Emperor having remarked that he had after all eight hundred thousand men to oppose the enemy, the negotiator eagerly added, 'Your Majesty may say twelve hundred thousand; for you may, if you please, join our force to your own.' But what was to be the price of this advantage? Nothing less than the restitution of Illyria, the cessions of the Duchy of Warsaw, the frontiers of the Inn, &c. 'And after all,' said the Emperor, 'what should I have gained by this? Had we made all these concessions, should we not have been humbling ourselves for nothing, and furnishing Austria with the means of making farther demands, and afterwards opposing us with greater advantage?' He never relin-

quished the idea that the true interests of Austria being closely connected with our danger, we should be more certain of regaining her by our misfortunes, than of securing her by our concessions. Napoleon was therefore deaf to every demand; but he had so little doubt of the engagements which Austria had already entered into with our enemies, that he is described as having said, half good-humouredly and half indignantly, to the Austrian negotiator: 'Come now, confess: tell me how much they have paid you for this.'

How severely did Napoleon suffer on this occasion! What trials of patience did he not undergo! And yet he was accused at the time of not wishing for peace! "How was I perplexed," said he, "when conversing on this subject, to find myself the only one to judge of the extent of our danger and to adopt means to avert it. I was harassed on the one hand by the coalesced powers, who threatened our very existence, and on the other by the spirit of my own subjects, who in their blindness, seemed to make common cause with them; by our enemies, who were labouring for my destruction, and by the importunities of my people and even my ministers, who urged me to throw myself on the mercy of foreigners.' And I was obliged to maintain a good appearance in this embarrassing situation: to reply haughtily to

“some, and sharply to rebuff others who created difficulties in my rear, encouraged the mistaken course of public opinion, instead of seeking to give it a proper direction, and suffered me to be tormented by demands for peace, when they ought to have proved that the only means of obtaining it was to urge me ostensibly to war.

“However, my determination was fixed. I awaited the result of events, firmly resolved to enter into no concessions or treaties, which could present only a temporary reparation, and would inevitably have been attended by fatal consequences. Any middle course must have been dangerous; there was no safety except in victory, which would have preserved my power, or in some catastrophe, which would have brought back my allies.”

I beg to call the reader's attention to this last idea, which I have already noticed on a former occasion. It will perhaps be thought I attach great importance to it; but this is because I feel the necessity of rendering it intelligible. Though I now enter into it completely, yet it was long before I understood it, and it appeared to me paradoxical and subtle.

“In what a situation was I placed!” continued the Emperor. “I saw that France, her destinies, her principles, depended on me alone!” — “Sire!” I ventured to observe,

“ this was the opinion generally entertained ;
“ and yet some parties reproached you for it,
“ exclaiming with bitterness, Why would he
“ connect every thing with himself personally ? ”
— “ That was a vulgar accusation,” resumed the
Emperor warmly. “ My situation was not one
“ of my own choosing, nor did it arise out of
“ any fault of mine ; it was produced entirely
“ by the nature and force of circumstances—by
“ the conflict of two opposite orders of things.
“ Would the individuals who held this language,
“ if indeed they were sincere, have preferred to
“ go back to the period preceding Brumaire,
“ when our internal dissolution was complete,
“ foreign invasion certain, and the destruction of
“ France inevitable ? From the moment when
“ we decided on the concentration of power,
“ which could alone save us ; when we deter-
“ mined on the unity of doctrines and resources
“ which rendered us a mighty nation, the des-
“ tinies of France depended solely on the cha-
“ racter, the measures, and the principles of him
“ who had been invested with this accidental
“ dictatorship : from that moment the public
“ interest, *the State, was myself*. These words,
“ which I addressed to men who were capable
“ of understanding them, were strongly censured
“ by the narrow-minded and ill-disposed ; but
“ the enemy felt the full force of them, and
“ therefore his first object was to effect my over-

“ throw. The same outcry was raised against
“ other words which I uttered in the sincerity of
“ my heart : when I said that *France stood more*
“ *in need of me than I stood in need of her*, this
“ solid truth was declared to be merely excess of
“ vanity. But, my dear Las Cases, you now see
“ that I can relinquish every thing ; and as to
“ what I endure here, my suffering cannot be
“ long. My life is limited ; but the existence of
“ France !” Then, resuming his former
idea, he said : “ The circumstances in which we
“ were placed were extraordinary and totally
“ new ; it would be vain to seek for any parallel
“ to them. I was myself the key-stone of an
“ edifice totally new, and raised on a slight foun-
“ dation ! Its stability depended on each of my
“ battles ! Had I been conquered at Marengo,
“ France would have encountered all the disas-
“ ters of 1814 and 1815, without those prodigies
“ of glory which succeeded, and which will be
“ immortal. It was the same at Austerlitz and
“ Jena, and again at Eylau and elsewhere. The
“ vulgar failed not to blame my ambition as the
“ cause of all these wars. But they were not
“ of my choosing ; they were produced by the
“ nature and force of events ; they arose out of
“ that conflict between the past and the future—
“ that constant and permanent coalition of our
“ enemies, which obliged us to subdue under
“ pain of being subdued.”

But to return to the negotiations of 1813. On a reference to the documents and manifestos published at the time by the two parties, whether because we can now peruse them with more impartiality, or because our eyes have been opened by the conduct of those who triumphed, it is impossible to avoid feeling astonished at the twofold error which led the Germans to rise so furiously against him from whose yoke they pretended to free themselves, and in favour of those whom they might believe to be their regenerators!

Renewal of hostilities—Battle of Dresden—26th and 27th of August.—"The hostile powers again presented themselves on the field of battle. The French, with a force of 300,000, of which 40,000 were cavalry, occupied the heart of Saxony, on the left bank of the Elbe; and the Allies, with 500,000 men, of whom 100,000 were cavalry, threatened them in three different directions, from Berlin, Silesia, and Bohemia, on Dresden. This prodigious disproportion of numbers had no effect on Napoleon; he concentrated his forces, and boldly assumed the offensive. Having fortified the line of the Elbe, which had now become his *point d'appui*, and, protecting his extreme right by the mountains of Bohemia, he directed one of his masses on Berlin against Bernadotte, who commanded an army of Prussians and Swedes, while another marched upon Silesia, against Blucher, who commanded a corps composed of

Prussians and Russians, and a third was stationed at Dresden, as the key of the position, to observe the great Austrian and Russian army in Bohemia. Finally, a fourth mass was placed as a reserve, at Zittau, with the threefold object :— 1st, to penetrate into Bohemia, in case we should gain advantages over Blücher; 2d, to keep the great body of the allied force confined in Bohemia, through the fear of being attacked on their rear, should they attempt to debouch by the banks of the Elbe; 3d, to assist, if necessary, in assailing Blücher, or in the defence of Dresden; in case that city should be attacked.

“ The Emperor, who had already made a rapid movement against Blücher, was keeping him in action before him, when he was suddenly called away for the defence of Dresden, where 65,000 French troops found themselves opposed to 180,000 of the allied forces. Prince Schwarzenberg, the General-in-chief, had on the 26th made a faint attack upon Dresden, instead of making a precipitate and decided assault; which, it was affirmed, was the intention of the deserter Jomini, who so well understood the real state of things. Napoleon came up with the rapidity of lightning; and he combined a force of 100,000 French troops to oppose the 180,000 allies. The affair was not for a moment doubtful; and to his sagacity and penetration the whole success must be attributed. The enemy was overwhelmed: he lost 40,000

men, and was for some time threatened with total destruction. The Emperor Alexander was present at the battle, and Moreau was killed by one of the first balls that were fired by our imperial guard, only a short time after he had spoken with the Russian Emperor.*

The happy chance, so anxiously looked for by Napoleon, which was expected to re-establish our affairs, to procure peace, and to save France, had at length arrived! Accordingly, on the ensuing day, Austria despatched an agent to the Emperor with amicable propositions. But such is the uncertainty of human destiny! From that moment, by an unexampled fatality, Napoleon had to encounter a chain of disasters. At every point, except that at which he was himself present, we sustained reverses. Our army in Silesia lost 25,000 men in opposing Blücher; the force which attacked Berlin was defeated by the Prince of Sweden with great loss; and finally, nearly the whole of Vandamme's corps, which, after the victory of Dresden, was sent into Bohemia with the view of assailing the enemy's rear, and accomplishing his destruction, being abandoned to itself, and the temerity of its chief, was cut to pieces

* The death of the celebrated Moreau, while fighting under the Russian banner, and opposed to a French army, was and will ever continue to be a source of affliction to his sincerest friends and warmest partizans.

by that part of the Allied army which was precipitately falling back. This fatal disaster and the safety of the Austrians, was occasioned by a sudden indisposition of Napoleon, who, for a moment, was supposed to have been poisoned. His presence no longer excited the ardour of the different corps in maintaining the pursuit; indecision and dejection ensued; Vandamme's force was destroyed, and all the fruit of the splendid victory of Dresden was lost!

After these repeated checks the spell was broken; the spirit of the French troops became depressed, while that of the Allies was the more highly excited. The hostile forces were now to be estimated only by their numerical value; and a catastrophe seemed to be at hand. Napoleon, in despair, exerted vain efforts; he hastened to every threatened point, and was immediately called away by some new disaster. Wherever he appeared, the Allies retreated before him; and they advanced again as soon as his back was turned. Meanwhile all the enemy's masses were constantly gaining ground; they had effected communications with each other, and they now formed a semicircle, which was gradually closing round the French, who were now driven back upon the Elbe, and threatened completely to surround them. On the other hand, our rear, which was uncovered, was assailed by detached parties. The kingdom of Westphalia was in open insur-

rection ; our convoys were intercepted, and we could no longer maintain free communications with France.

It was in this state of things that the negotiators of Prague submitted to the Emperor the result of their new conferences. In addition to numerous restitutions required from Napoleon and his allies, two propositions were made : 1st, the surrender of all the influence and acquisitions of France in Italy ; 2d, the resignation of the French influence and acquisitions in Germany. Napoleon was to take his choice of one of these two divisions of power ; but the other was to be consigned to the allies, to be entirely at their disposal, without any interference on his part. Neither friends nor enemies entertained a doubt but that Napoleon would eagerly accept these proposals. " For," said those about him, " if you choose Italy, you remain at the gates of Vienna, and the Allies will soon dispute among themselves respecting the division of Germany. If, on the contrary, you prefer the surrender of Italy, you will thereby secure the friendship of Austria, to whose share it will fall, and you will remain in the heart of Germany. In either case you will soon reappear in the character of a mediator, or a ruler." Napoleon, however, was not of this opinion : he rejected the propositions, and persisted in following up his own ideas.

Certainly, said he, such proposals in themselves, and in the natural course of things, are most acceptable ; but where is the guarantee of their sincerity ? He saw plainly that the Allies were only endeavouring to lure him into the snare. They determined henceforth to abide neither by faith nor law. They did not conceive themselves bound by any law of nations, or any rule of integrity in their conduct towards us. In opposition to the suggestions of his counsellors, Napoleon said, " If I relinquish Germany, Austria " will but contend the more perseveringly until " she obtain Italy. If, on the other hand, I sur- " render Italy to her, she will, in order to se- " cure the possession of it, endeavour to expel " me from Germany. Thus, one concession " granted, will only serve as an inducement for " seeking or enforcing new ones. The first stone " of the edifice being removed, the downfall of " the whole will inevitably ensue. I shall be " urged on from one concession to another, until " I am driven back to the castle of the Tuileries, " whence the French people, enraged at my " weakness, and blaming me for their disasters, " will doubtless banish me, and perhaps justly. " though they may themselves immediately be- " come the prey of foreigners."

May not this be regarded as the literal predic- tion of the events which succeeded the insidious

declaration of Frankfort, the propositions of Chatillon, &c. ?

“It would be a thousand times better to perish in battle amidst the fury of the enemy’s triumph,” continued the Emperor; “for even defeats leave behind them the respect due to adversity, when they are attended by magnanimous perseverance. I therefore prefer to give battle; for if I should be conquered, we still have with us the true political interests of the majority of our enemies. But, if I should be victorious, I may save all. I have still chances in my favour—I am far from despairing.”

Intended movement on Berlin.—“In this state of things, the King of Bavaria, the chief of the Confederation of the Rhine, wrote to the Emperor, assuring him, confidentially, that he would continue his alliance for six weeks longer. “This was long enough,” said Napoleon, “to render it very probable that he would no longer find it necessary to abandon us.” He determined immediately to attempt a great movement, which he had long contemplated, and which plainly indicates the resources of his enterprising mind. Pressed upon the Elbe, the right bank of which was already lined by the great mass of the Allied force, and nearly turned on his rear, he conceived the bold

idea of changing positions with the enemy, place for place. He determined to penetrate the enemy's line, forming himself in his rear, and compelling him, in his turn, to transfer his whole force to the left bank of the river. If, in this situation, he abandoned his communications with France, he would have in his rear the enemy's territory, a tract of country not yet ravaged by war, and which was capable of maintaining his troops: He would recover the cities of Berlin, Brandenburg, and Mecklenburgh, with their immense garrisons, the separation and the loss of which were to be accounted so great a fault after a reverse of fortune, and would have been regarded as resources of genius in case of triumph. Napoleon now looked forward to a new line of combinations, and a new prospect of future success: he beheld before him only the errors, the astonishment, and the stupor of his enemies, and the brilliancy of his own enterprise and his hopes.

Battles of Leipsic, (16th, 18th, and 19th Oct.)

—"At first fortune seemed to smile on the Emperor. But soon a letter from the King of Wurtemberg informed him that the Bavarian army, seduced by the intrigues and the prevailing spirit of the moment, had joined the Austrians, against whom it was intended to be opposed; that it was marching on the Rhine to cut off the communication with France; and that the King

of Wurtemberg was himself under the necessity of yielding to circumstances. This unexpected event obliged Napoleon to suspend his preparations, and to fall back, in order to secure his retreat. This complication of false movements proved serviceable to the Allies, who pressed and surrounded us: a great battle seemed inevitable. Napoleon assembled his forces in the plains of Leipsic. His army consisted of 157,000 men, and six hundred pieces of artillery; but the Allies possessed 1000 pieces of artillery, and 350,000 men. During the first day the action was furiously maintained: the French remained triumphant, and the victory would have been decisive, if one of the corps stationed at Dresden had taken part in the battle, as the Emperor hoped it would. General Merfeld was made prisoner, but was liberated on parole, with the announcement that the Emperor was at length willing to accept the condition of the renunciation of Germany. But the Allies, who were encouraged by the arrival of an immense reinforcement, resumed the engagement on the following day; and they were now so numerous, that when their troops were exhausted, they were regularly relieved by fresh corps, as on the parade. The most inconceivable fatality was now combined with inequality of numbers; treason broke out in our ranks; the Saxons, our allies, deserted us, went over to the enemy, and turned

their artillery against us. Still, however, the presence of mind, energy, and skill of the French general, together with the courage of our troops, made amends for all, and we again remained masters of the field.

“These two terrible engagements, which history may fairly record as giants’ battles, cost the enemy 150,000 of his best troops, 50,000 of whom lay dead on the field of battle. Our loss amounted only to 50,000. Thus the difference of our forces was considerably diminished: and a third engagement presented itself, with changes much more favourable. But our ammunition was exhausted; our parks contained no more than 16,000 charges; we had fired 220,000 during the two preceding days. We were compelled to make arrangements for our retreat, which commenced during the night, on Leipsic. At day-break the Allies assailed us; they entered Leipsic along with us; and an engagement commenced in the streets of the city. Our rear-guard was defending itself valiantly and without sustaining great loss, when a fatal occurrence ruined all: the only bridge across the Elster, by which our retreat could be effected, was, by some accident or misunderstanding, blown up. Thus all our forces on the Leipsic bank of the river were lost, and all on the opposite bank marched in haste and disorder upon Mentz. At

Hanau we were compelled to force a passage through 50,000 Bavarian troops. Only the wrecks of our army returned to France; and, to render the misfortune complete, they brought contagion with them."

Such was the fatal campaign of Saxony, our last national effort, the tomb of our gigantic power, Opposed to the united efforts of all the forces of Europe, and in spite of all the chances that were accumulated against us, the genius of a single man had, in course of this campaign, been four times on the point of restoring our ascendancy, and cementing it by peace: after the victories of Lutzen and Bautzen, after the battle of Dresden, at the time of the last movement on Berlin, and finally on the plains of Leipsic.

Napoleon failed only by a complication of fatalities and perfidies, of which history furnishes no example. I here note down only those which occur to me on a retrospective view of the events of this period.

Fatalities.

- (A.) Sudden indisposition of Napoleon.
- (B.) Unexpected overflow of the Bober.
- (C.) Confidential letter from the King of Bavaria.
- (D.) Orders not transmitted to the corps at Dresden.

(E.) Deficiency of ammunition after the two battles of Leipsic.

(F.) Explosion of the bridge across the Elster.

Perfidies.

(G.) Machinations and bad faith of Austria, the first and true cause of our disasters.

(H.) Violation of the armistice of Pleisswitz, relative to our blockaded fortresses.

(I.) Desertion of the chief of the staff of the 3d corps.

(K.) Defection of the Bavarian government.

(L.) Treachery of the Saxons.

(M.) Violation of the capitulation of Dresden, &c.

The following are a few lines of explanation :—

(A.) After the victory of Dresden, some one complimented Napoleon on his great success. "Oh! this is nothing," observed he, while his countenance beamed with satisfaction; "Vandamme is on their rear, it is there that we must look for the great result." The Emperor was proceeding in person to assist in accomplishing this decisive operation, when, unfortunately, after one of his meals he was seized with so violent a retching, that he was supposed to have been poisoned, and it was found necessary to convey him back to Dresden. Thus the operations were

interrupted. The fatal consequences that ensued are well known. How trivial was the cause, and how calamitous were the results!

(B.) A sudden overflow of the Bober in Silesia was the principal cause of the disasters of Marshal Macdonald. His corps, while in full operation, were overtaken by the flood, which impeded their operations, and caused the terrible losses which have been above described.

(C.) About the end of September the King of Bavaria addressed a confidential letter to Napoleon, stating that he would maintain his alliance with him for six weeks or two months longer; and that during that interval he would obstinately refuse every advantage that might be held out to him. The Emperor, who was placed in a most critical situation, and who, but for this circumstance, might perhaps, have lent an ear to the propositions that were made to him, now no longer hesitated, but immediately determined on the bold movement which he had contemplated on Berlin. He conceived that six weeks would be sufficient to change the state of affairs, and remove the fears of his allies. Unfortunately, military intrigues proved more powerful than the wishes of the King of Bavaria. Napoleon was forced to suspend his movement, and to give battle at Leipsic with disadvantage. The consequences have already been seen.

(D.) Napoleon, in making his arrangements for

the battles of Leipsic, had relied on a diversion of the army corps which he had left in Dresden. Their co-operation might have rendered the victory decisive, and have given a new turn to affairs. But, unfortunately, the enemy's force was so numerous, and we were so completely surrounded, that the Emperor's orders could not be transmitted to Dresden.

(F.) After the two terrible engagements at Leipsic, the French were effecting their retreat across the Elster by a single bridge. An officer who was stationed to guard it, was ordered to blow it up if the enemy should present himself in pursuit of our rear-guard. Unluckily this officer was by some mistake or other informed that the Emperor wanted him. He immediately obeyed the summons, and in his absence a corporal of sappers, at the first sight of some detached Russian corps, fired the train and blew up the bridge, thus dooming to perdition that portion of our force which still remained on the Leipsic bank of the river. The whole of our rear-guard and baggage, two hundred pieces of artillery, and thirty thousand prisoners, (stragglers, wounded and sick,) fell into the hands of the enemy.

On the publication of the bulletins containing this intelligence, a general outcry was raised by the discontented party in Paris. It was asserted that the whole was a fabrication, and that the Emperor himself had ordered the blowing up

of the bridge with the view of ensuring his own safety at the expense of the rest of the army. It was in vain to refer to the statement of the officer, who confirmed the fact while he attempted to justify himself. This was declared to be another fabrication or a piece of complaisance on the part of the officer. Such was the language of the time.*

(G.) The duplicity and bad faith of Austria, the numerous contradictions between her acts and her professions, have already been mentioned. Unmindful of the generosity of which she had been the object after the battles of Leoben, Austerlitz, and Wagram, she discharged her debt of gratitude according to the rules of policy, and by eagerly seizing the opportunity of repairing her losses at any price.

* When I visited London in 1814, public attention was occupied by the recent events of the Continent, and the battle of Leipzig was the general topic of conversation. It was related that, at the moment of the defeat, Napoleon's presence of mind completely forsook him. He wandered about the city, and lost his way in a private street. Though on horseback, faintness obliged him to support himself against a wall, and in this situation he inquired his way of an old woman, and asked her for a glass of water. The explosion of the bridge was not forgotten, and the story was related precisely as at Paris. These details, which were echoed in the drawing-rooms, and circulated about the streets, were credited among the higher ranks as well as by the vulgar. Prints, representing the different events of the battle, were exhibited in the shop-windows. The subject of one of

She ruined us by making us consent to the armistice of Pleisswitz; and her conduct was the more odious, as she was determined to make war against us; and a few days afterwards, though still our friend and ally, and offering herself as a mediator, she entered into engagements hostile to us. Her participation in the conventions of Rechembach about the middle of June, and in the conferences of Trachenberg, at the commencement of July, are now well known. The necessity of maintaining a certain appearance of decorum occasioned these matters to be kept secret for about a month after the commencement of hostilities. They were at first proposed to Francis merely as eventual and precautionary measures; and he was induced to affix his signature to them only by the representations of his ministers, who described Napoleon as the scourge of mankind, and attributed to him the delays in the opening of the Congress, which were in reality occasioned by themselves. (*Montveran*, vol. vi. p. 262.)

But in spite of the conduct of Austria, Napoleon still cherished the hope of seeing her resume her alliance with him; not that he could

these engravings was the above described incident in the street of Leipsic. Such a multitude of absurdities was circulated, that people of common sense had no resource but to shrug up their shoulders and patiently endure all that they heard.

calculate on any misunderstanding between her and the other coalesced powers, but because he supposed her to be sufficiently clear-sighted with respect to her own interests. This idea never forsook him until the moment of signing his abdication.*

(H.) The fortresses occupied by French troops in those places which were in the possession of the Allied forces, were to have a clear circuit of one league, and to receive supplies of provisions every five days; but this article was not honestly fulfilled.

When the armistice was prolonged, the French commissaries demanded that officers of their army should be sent to the commanders of the fortresses; but the Russian General-in-chief objected to this, and circumstances were such that we were obliged to give up the point. (*Montveran*, vol. vi. p. 270.)

* This supposition was not altogether ill-founded; for it still remains doubtful whether the consent of Austria to the dethronement of the Emperor, was constrained or voluntary. By one of those fatalities which attended the close of Napoleon's career, a momentary success separated the Austrians and the Russians, and the order for marching upon Paris, as well as the famous declaration proscribing Napoleon and his family, proceeded solely from Alexander. When Francis presented himself, he had no alternative but to give his assent to measures which were already determined on; but many circumstances induce the belief that he did so with great repugnance and dissatisfaction.

(I.) The chief of the staff of the 3d corps, a Swiss by birth, but educated in our ranks, went over to the enemy a few days before the renewal of hostilities, taking with him all the information he could collect. For this service the Emperor of Russia rewarded him with particular favour and made him one of his aides-de-camp. It has been said that this officer, who was possessed of great talent, had reason to complain of some injustice; but can any thing palliate such an act, or remove the disgrace attending it?

(K.) Part of Napoleon's plan of campaign was that the Bavarian army, stationed on the Danube, should act in concert with the army of Italy stationed in Illyria, and that their combined efforts should be directed upon Vienna. The important effect which these measures must have produced on the fate of the campaign may be easily conceived. But the chief of the Bavarian army, under some pretence or other, but in reality because he had entered into an understanding with the enemy, remained constantly inactive, and thus paralyzed the efforts of the Vice King, who had to oppose the great bulk of the Austrian force. It has already been stated that the open defection of the Bavarians at the most critical moment of the campaign, mainly contributed to bring about our disasters.

(L.) But nothing equalled the infamous and

disgraceful treachery of the Saxons, who, though they were then serving in our ranks and were our companions in danger and glory, suddenly turned to fight against us. Whatever might be the fatal effects of their desertion, the disgrace attached to themselves is greater than all the mischief they occasioned to us.

The conduct of Napoleon during this period, when he was described as a monster of deception and bad faith, presents, on the contrary, an example of singular magnanimity.

He had added a corps of Saxons to his Imperial guard ; but, on the desertion of their countrymen, he ranged them round their sovereign, whom he left at Leipsic *, releasing him from all his engagements. There were also some Bavarians in his army, and he wrote to their chief, informing him that Bavaria having disloyally declared war against him, this circumstance would authorize him in disarming and detaining prisoners all the Bavarians in his service ; but that such a measure would destroy the confidence which Napoleon wished that the troops under his orders

* The venerable and faithful King of Saxony followed his ally Napoleon, at whose head-quarters he established himself. The coalesced powers, on their entrance into Leipsic, seized the person of the King, and announced their design of disposing of his states. His misfortunes are known throughout Europe ; they excited a deep interest in every generous heart.

should repose in him. He therefore ordered them to be supplied with provisions, and dismissed.*

(M.) I have before me the notes of a distinguished officer relative to the capitulation of Dresden. Estimating the number of troops which we had left behind us in the fortresses from which we were separated, he concludes that they must have amounted altogether to 177,000. The Emperor had but 157,000 men at Leipsic. How different, therefore, might have been our fate, had those masses, or even a portion of them, been at his disposal in this decisive event. But this unfortunate dispersion was occasioned by extraordinary circumstances, and was not the result of any regular system. The following particulars, relative to the violation of the capitulation of Dresden, are literally quoted from the notes above alluded to:—

“Above all, it is necessary to understand, that it was determined in the plan of the coalition against France, of which Prince Schwartzberg had the credit, that according as offers were made for the capitulation of each of our numerous garrisons, the conditions should be fairly and honour-

* Amidst the general disloyalty, the conduct of the King of Wurtemberg presents an honourable exception. That prince, though already at war with us, broke his brigade of cavalry, and the corps of his infantry, who went over to the enemy, and at the same time withdrew the decoration of his Order from their officers.

ably granted, but without any intention of fulfilling them. This point being established, the reason of the refusal of the capitulation signed at Dresden by Marshal Saint-Cyr, and Generals Tolstoy and Klenau, was, that Prince Schwartzberg could not ratify it, because the Count de Lobau, Napoleon's aide-de-camp, who was shut up in Dresden with the Marshal, had protested against the capitulation. Some time after, the capitulation of Dantzick, which was signed with General Rapp, was declined, under the odiously false pretence, that the garrison of Dresden, in spite of the conditions of its capitulation, had entered into service immediately on its arrival at Strasburg, and that, in consequence, the capitulation of Dantzick could not be approved without incurring the risk of similar inconveniences.

“ The following is an additional proof of the bad faith of the Allies. The garrison of Dresden, which was composed of two army corps, forming altogether 45,000 men, capitulated on the 11th of November *.

* The determination to surrender had been far from unanimous in the garrison. Opinions were divided on this point. Some were for returning to France by means of a capitulation, which course was adopted; others were in favour of an enterprise of a much bolder nature. This was nothing less than to quit Dresden with the chosen troops of the garrison, to descend the Elbe by successively raising the blockades of Torgau, where there were 28,000 men; of Wittemberg, where there were 5000;

“ According to the terms of the capitulation, the French were to evacuate the fortress in six columns and in six successive days, and were to repair to Strasburgh.

“ This capitulation was fulfilled, so far at least as regarded our evacuation of the fortress and its occupation by the enemy; but our sixth column had scarcely made a day’s march from the town when it was announced that the capitulation was

of Magdeburg, where there were 20,000, and to arrive at Hamburg, where there were 32,000. The army thus assembled together, which would have amounted to 60 or 80,000 men, was to repair to France, forming a passage through the enemy’s ranks, or compelling him to retrograde by manœuvring on his rear; while the levies in mass that might have advanced to assail our veteran bands would have been paralyzed. And even had this plan failed, the issue was not likely to be more fatal than the capitulation. This opinion was warmly advocated by the Count de Lobau, Generals Teste, Monton-Duvernety and others. The design was grand, worthy of our glory, and quite in harmony with our past acts. It was the Emperor’s intention to carry it into effect, and for this purpose he issued orders, which, however, did not reach the place of their destination. The despair occasioned by the thought of surrendering was such, that a portion of the troops urged the officer who was at the head of the opposing party to take the command upon himself. Respect for discipline at length prevailed over enthusiasm; but the officer above alluded to expressed himself in the most violent way in the council. It is said, that in his indignation he exclaimed to the General-in-chief:—“ The Emperor will tell me, that, with the pistol in my hand, I ought to have taken the command upon myself.”

declined and rejected by the General-in-chief, Prince Schwartzberg, by an order of the 19th of November.

“When Marshal Saint-Cyr remonstrated against this conduct, it was proposed, by way of compensation for the injustice, that he should be permitted to re-enter Dresden with his troops, and be again placed in possession of all the means of defence which he had had before the capitulation: this was merely a piece of irony.

“In vain did the Marshal negotiate for the literal fulfilment of the articles agreed upon by Count Klenau, who had possessed full powers for so doing; the unfortunate garrison, broken up and dispersed, was under the necessity of repairing to the different cantonments that were assigned to it in Bohemia, instead of pursuing its march towards the Rhine.

“The Marshal, indignant at this flagrant breach of faith, despatched a superior officer to communicate the circumstance to Napoleon; but the Allies retarded his progress under various pretences, and he did not reach Paris until the 18th of December. Subsequent events had by this time rendered the evil past all remedy.”

After the series of deceptions and perfidies which I have here disclosed, and which the Allies had established as a system, it is not surprising that Napoleon should have placed no reliance on the famous declaration of Frankfort, and that he

should have felt indignant at the blindness of our Legislative Body, the committee of which, either from evil designs or mistaken views, completed the ruin of affairs. Napoleon assured me that he was several times on the point of summoning the members of this committee before him, in order to consult with them confidentially and sincerely on the real state of things, and the imminent danger with which we were threatened. Sometimes he thought he should undoubtedly bring them back to a right sense of their duty; sometimes, on the contrary, he feared that obstinacy of opinion, or mischievous intention, might have involved the affair in controversy, which, considering the spirit of the moment, would have weakened our resources, and hastened our dissolution.

The Emperor frequently adverted to this critical point in the destinies of France; but I have hitherto refrained from entering upon the detail of a subject which presents nothing either agreeable or consolatory.

Benevolent actions performed by the Emperor.—His visit to Amsterdam.—Observations on the Dutch, &c.—The Massacres of the third of September.—Remarks on Revolutions in general.—Unhappy fate of Louis XVI.

3d. About three o'clock the Emperor sent for me to attend him in his chamber. He had just finished dressing; and as it was raining at the

time, he went into the drawing-room, where he communicated to me some very curious particulars, which, as may be supposed, concerned him, and in which I played a conspicuous part.

Some time afterwards the Emperor took a turn on the lawn next his library; but, finding the wind very violent, he soon returned to the house and played at billiards, a thing which he very seldom thought of doing.

In the course of the day, the Emperor related, that as he was once travelling with the Empress, he stopped to breakfast in one of the islands of the Rhine. There was a small farm in the neighbourhood, and while he was at breakfast he sent for the peasant to whom it belonged, and desired him to ask boldly for whatever he thought would render him happy; and in order to inspire him with the greater confidence, the Emperor made him drink several glasses of wine. The peasant, who was more prudent and less circumscribed in his choice, than the man described in the story of the three wishes, without hesitation specified the object which he was ambitious to possess. The Emperor commanded the prefect of the district immediately to provide him with what he had made choice of, and the expense attending the gratification of his wish did not exceed 6 or 7000 francs.

Napoleon added, that on another occasion,

when he was sailing in a yacht in Holland, he entered into conversation with the steersman, and asked him how much his vessel was worth. "My vessel!" said the man, "it is not mine; I should be too happy if it were, it would make my fortune."—"Well, then," said the Emperor, "I make you a present of it;" a favour for which the man seemed not particularly grateful. His indifference was imputed to the phlegmatic temperament natural to his countrymen; but this was not the case. "What benefit has he conferred on me?" said he to one of his comrades who was congratulating him; "he has spoken to me, and that is all; he has given me what was not his own to give—a fine present truly!" In the mean time Duroc had purchased the vessel of the owner, and the receipt was put into the hands of the steersman, who, no longer doubting the reality of his good fortune, indulged in the most extravagant demonstrations of joy. The expense of this purchase was about the same as that attending the present made to the countryman. "Thus," said the Emperor, "it is evident that human wishes are not so immoderate as they are generally supposed, and that it is not so very difficult to render people happy! These two men undoubtedly enjoyed perfect happiness."

When the Emperor visited Amsterdam, the people, he said, were very hostile to him; but he soon completely ingratiated himself in the public

favour. He declined being attended by any other guard than the guard of honour belonging to the city; and this mark of confidence immediately gained him the esteem of the Dutch. He constantly appeared among every class of citizens. On one occasion he addressed a crowd of people in the following blunt manner:—"It is said that
"you are discontented—but why? France has
"not conquered, but adopted you: you are ex-
"cluded from no benefits which are enjoyed by
"the French; you are a portion of the same
"family, and participate in all its advantages.
"Consider now: I have selected my Prefects,
"Chamberlains, and Counsellors of State from
"amongst you in a just proportion to the amount
"of your population, and I have augmented my
"guard with your Dutch guard. You complain
"of distress; but, in this respect, France has
"still greater reason to be dissatisfied. We all
"suffer, and we must continue to do so until the
"common enemy, the tyrant of the sea, the
"vampire of your trade, shall be brought to
"reason. You complain of the sacrifices you
"have made; but come to France and see all
"that you still possess beyond what we do, and
"then, perhaps, you will deem yourselves less
"unfortunate. . . . Why not
"rather congratulate yourselves on the circum-
"stances that have brought about your union
"with France. In the present state of Europe,

“ what would you be, if left to yourselves ?—
“ The slaves of all the world. Instead of which,
“ identified as you are with France, you will one
“ day possess the whole trade of the great Em-
“ pire.” Then assuming a tone of gaiety, he
said :—“ I have done every thing in my power to
“ please you. Have I not sent you as a Gover-
“ nor precisely the man who suits you—the good
“ and pacific Lebrun. You condole with him,
“ he condoles with you: you bewail your dis-
“ tresses together. What more could I do for
“ you ?” At these words the assembly burst
into a loud fit of laughter. The Emperor had
secured the good graces of the multitude.—
“ However,” said he, “ let us hope that the
“ present state of things will not last long.
“ Believe me, I am as anxious for a change as
“ you can be. Every man of discernment among
“ you must be aware that it is neither my wish,
“ nor for my interest, that matters should remain
“ as they now are.”

The Emperor left the people of Amsterdam full of enthusiasm for him ; and he, on his part, carried away impressions decidedly in their favour. Previously to his journey he had often complained, that whosoever he sent to Holland, immediately became a Dutchman. After his return, that circumstance occurred to his recollection in the Council of State, and he said that he had himself become a Dutchman. One day, when

a member of the Council spoke slightly of the Dutch, the Emperor said, "Gentlemen, you may be more agreeable than they; but I can wish you nothing better than to be possessed of their moral qualities."

After dinner, on the 3d of September, some one happened to mention the date of the day; upon which the Emperor made some very remarkable observations; among which were the following:—"This," said he, "is the anniversary of horrid and appalling executions, of a re-action, in miniature, of Saint-Bartholomew's day: less disgraceful, certainly, because fewer victims were sacrificed, and because the atrocities were not committed under the sanction of the Government, which, on the contrary, used its endeavours to punish the crime. It was committed by the mob of Paris; an unbridled power, which rivalled, and even controlled, the Legislature."

"The atrocities of the 3d of September were the result of fanaticism rather than of absolute brutality: the authors of the massacres put to death one of their own party, for having committed theft during the executions. This dreadful event," continued the Emperor, "arose out of the force of circumstances, and the spirit of the moment. No political change ever takes place unattended by popular fury; the people are never exposed to danger, with-

“ out committing disorders and sacrificing victims. The Prussians entered the French territory; and the people, before they advanced to meet them, resolved to take revenge on their adherents in Paris. Probably, this circumstance was not without its influence on the safety of France. Who can doubt that if, during recent events, the friends of the invaders had been the victims of similar horrors, France would have fallen under the yoke of foreigners? But this could not have happened, for we had become legitimate. The duration of authority, our victories, our treaties, the establishment of our old manners, had rendered our government regular. We could not plunge into the same horrors, as had been committed by the mob: for my part, I neither could nor would become a King of the *Jacquerie*.

“ No social revolution ever takes place unaccompanied by violence. Every revolution of this kind is at first merely a revolt. Time and success alone can exalt and legitimize it; but still it can never be brought about unattended by outrage. If people enjoying authority and fortune are required to relinquish these advantages, they of course resist: force is then resorted to; they are compelled to yield. In France this point was gained by the lantern and public executions. The reign of terror commenced on the 4th of August, with the

“abolition of titles of nobility, tithes, and feudal rights, the wrecks of which were scattered among the multitude, who then, for the first time, understood and felt really interested in the Revolution. Before this period there was so much of dependance and religious spirit among the people, that many doubted whether the harvest could be gathered in without the King and the tithes.

“A revolution,” concluded the Emperor, “is one of the greatest evils by which mankind can be visited. It is the scourge of the generation by whom it is brought about; and all the advantages it procures cannot make amends for the misery with which it embitters the lives of those who participate in it. It enriches the poor, who still remain dissatisfied; and it impoverishes the rich, who cannot forget their downfall. It subverts every thing; and, at its commencement, brings misery to all and happiness to none.

“Beyond a doubt, true social happiness consists in the harmony and the peaceful possession of the relative enjoyments of each class of people. In regular and tranquil times, every individual has his share of felicity: the cobbler in his stall is as content as the king on his throne; the soldier is not less happy than the general. The best-founded revolutions, at the outset, bring universal destruction in their

“train; the advantages they may produce are reserved for a future age. Ours seems to have been an irresistible fatality: it was a moral eruption, which could no more be prevented than a physical eruption. When the chemical combinations necessary to produce the latter are complete, it bursts forth: in France the moral combinations which produce a revolution had arrived at maturity, and the explosion accordingly took place.”

We asked the Emperor, whether he thought it would have been possible to suppress the Revolution in its birth; and he replied, that, if not impossible, the attempt would at least have been difficult. “Perhaps,” said he, “the storm might have been laid or averted by some great Machiavellian act; by striking with one hand the great ringleaders, and with the other making concessions to the nation, granting freely the reformation required by the age, part of which had already been mentioned in the famous royal sitting. And yet, after all,” he observed, “this would only have been to guide and direct the Revolution.” He thought that some other plan of the same kind might perhaps have succeeded on the 10th of August, if the King had remained triumphant. “These two periods,” he said, “were the only ones which afforded any chance, however desperate; for at the affair of Versailles the people had not yet entirely shaken

“ off their allegiance, and on the 10th of August
“ they were already beginning to be tired of dis-
“ order. But the individuals who were chiefly
“ interested in quelling the revolutionary spirit
“ were not adequate to encounter the difficulties
“ of the moment.”

The Emperor then took a rapid glance at the series of errors committed during this period. “ The line of conduct then pursued,” said he, “ was truly pitiable. Louis XVI. should have had a prime minister, and M. Necker in the finance department. Prime ministers seem to have been invented for the last reigns of the French monarchy ; and yet the prevailing false notions and vanity of the time caused them to be dispensed with.”

A great deal was said respecting the equivocal conduct of several great personages during this critical period, and the Emperor said : “ We condemn Louis XVI. ; but, independently of his weakness, he was placed in peculiar circumstances. He was the first monarch on whom the experiment of modern principles was tried. His education, his innate opinions, led him to believe that all that he defended, either openly or secretly, belonged to him of right. There might be a sort of honesty even in his want of faith, if I may be permitted to say so. At a subsequent period, the same conduct would have been inexcusable, and even reprehensible.

“ Add to all this, that Louis XVI. had every one
“ against him, and one may form an idea of
“ the innumerable difficulties which fate had
“ accumulated on that unhappy prince. The
“ misfortunes of the Stuarts, which have excited
“ such deep interest, were not more severe.”

*The Body Guard of the King of France.—A Deserter
in the Emperor's suite.*

4th.—The Emperor sent for me after he had finished his breakfast. He was stretched on a sofa, with several books scattered about him. He wore his night-cap, and he looked pale. “Las-Cases,” said he, “I am unwell. I have been looking
“ over a great many books, but I can find nothing
“ to interest me. I feel wearied.” He fixed his eye on me; that eye, naturally so animated, was now dim, and its expression told me more than his tongue had uttered. “Sit down,” said he, pointing to a chair that was beside him loaded with books, “and let us converse a little.” He spoke of the Island of Elba, of the life he had led there, of some visits which he had received, &c. He then put some questions to me concerning Paris and the French court during the corresponding period. The conversation having led to the mention of the King's body-guard, some one present remarked, as a curious circumstance, that there was a deserter from the guard in Napoleon's

suite at Saint-Helena. "How? explain yourself," said the Emperor.—"Sire," continued the individual who had just spoken, "at the time of the restoration, one of the captains of the guard, for whom I entertained great friendship, and who, in spite of the difference of our opinions, had always evinced a high regard for me, proposed to enter my son in his company, assuring me that he would treat him as though he were his own. I replied, that he was too young, and that the appointment might retard the progress of his education; but my friend silenced all my objections. I however requested some time to consider of the matter; and on my mentioning it to some persons of my acquaintance, they were astonished that I should have declined so good an offer, and assured me that in a short time my son might attain great advancement, without any interruption of his education. I then waited on the captain of the guard, and acknowledged that I had not shewn myself sufficiently grateful for his offer; and he replied that he was fully aware I had not understood the extent of the advantage he proposed to me. However, by one circumstance or another, your Majesty returned before my son had the honour of being presented to his colonel, and as I took him from his Lyceum on our departure for Saint-Helena, he is clearly and truly a deserter." The Emperor laughed

heartily and said: "This is another effect of revolutions! What new interests, connexions, and opinions do they create! It is fortunate when they do not disunite families, and set the best friends at variance with each other." He then began to question me concerning my family, and concluded by saying, "I saw in Alphonse de Beauchamp's work, your name mentioned among the individuals, who, on the 30th of March, endeavoured to excite demonstrations in favour of the royal family in the Place Louis XV. I know it was not you; I think you once explained the matter to me, but I have forgotten the particulars."—"Sire," said I, "it was a cousin of mine, of the same name. The circumstance vexed me a good deal at the time; I inserted contradictions in the journals; and it was rather droll that my cousin, on his part, addressed letters to the public prints, desiring that he might be particularly specified as the individual alluded to. I believe that the general way in which the name was introduced, in Alphonse de Beauchamp's work, was kindly meant on the part of the author, who wished, by this means, to afford me an opportunity of ingratiating myself in the favour of the ruling party, if I had a mind to do so. I must do my cousin the justice to say, that when I obtained an appointment about your Majesty's person, I several times offered to solicit for him a post in your house-

“hold or elsewhere; but this he constantly declined. I wish he may now enjoy the reward of his fidelity.” The Emperor again repeated that all private interests were subverted by revolutions. “And it is these private wounds,” said he, “which occasion the general ferment, and render the shocks so acute and violent.”

The weather was so bad throughout the whole of the day, that it was impossible to go out. The Emperor dismissed me, and sent for General Gourgaud, to whom he dictated in his library, from two to six o'clock, almost the whole of Moreau's campaign during the Consulate. After dinner he read to us Madame de Maintenon's celebrated sumptuary letter to her brother, in which she fixes her household-expenditure at six francs a-year. The Emperor had several volumes of the *Grands Hommes* brought to him, and after perusing some articles, he amused himself by looking at the outline portraits that are at the end of each volume.

Napoleon's Reproofs, &c.—The Governor bargains for our Existence.

5th.—To-day, in the course of my morning conversation with the Emperor, I happened to mention some acts of oppression and injustice, which excited dissatisfaction in the public mind, and rendered him unpopular, because they were executed in his name, and were by many supposed to emanate from him. “But how?” said he, “was there no one among the multitude that sur-

“rounded me, none of my chamberlains, who
“had sufficient spirit and independence to com-
“plain and bring these matters to my know-
“ledge? I would have rendered justice where-
“ever it had been withheld.”—“Sire, few would
“have ventured to call your attention to these
“things.”—“Did you really stand so much in
“awe of me? I suppose you dreaded my sharp
“rebuffs; but you ought to have known that I
“always lent a ready ear to every one, and that
“I never refused to administer justice. You
“should have balanced the reward of the good
“action, with the danger of the reprimand. After
“all, I confess, that my reproofs were in most in-
“stances the result of calculation. They were
“frequently the only means I possessed of learn-
“ing a man’s temper, of discovering, by stealth,
“the different shades of his character. I had little
“time for inquiry; and a reprimand was one of
“my experiments. For example, I lately gave
“you a repulse, and this enabled me to discover
“that you were somewhat headstrong, extremely
“susceptible, sufficiently candid, but sullen; and,
“I may say, too sensitive,” he added, pinching
my ear. “I was,” continued he, “obliged to
“surround myself, as it were, with a halo of
“fear; otherwise, having risen as I did from
“amidst the multitude, many would have made
“free to eat out of my hand, or to pat me on the
“shoulder. We are naturally inclined to fami-
“liarity.”

The weather continued very bad, and the Emperor spent the chief part of the day in writing, as he did yesterday.

The Governor has renewed his cavilling on the subject of our supplies, descending into petty details about a few bottles of wine, or a few pounds of meat. Instead of eight thousand pounds, the sum fixed by Government, he now applied for an allowance of twelve thousand, which he himself declared to be indispensable; but he insisted on having the surplus delivered into his own hands, or subjecting us to great retrenchments. He bargained for our existence. When this was mentioned to the Emperor, he replied, that the Governor might do as he pleased; but he desired, at all events, that he might not be troubled about the business.

In the evening the conversation again turned on Madame de Maintenon, and the Emperor made many remarks on her letters, her character, her influence on the affairs of her time, &c. He asked for the Historical Dictionary to read the articles on the Noailles family; and he retired to rest at eleven o'clock.

Confidential conversation.—The Letters of Madame de Maintenon and Sevigné.

6th.—The weather proved as bad as it had been on the preceding day. After finishing his toilette, the Emperor retired to his library, attended by

one of his suite, with whom he held a long confidential conversation on a topic intimately concerning us.

"We have now," said he, "been at Saint-Helena more than a year, and with regard to certain points we remain just as we were on the first day of our arrival. I must confess that I have hitherto come to no determination in my own mind upon these subjects. This is very unlike me; but how many mortifications have I to encounter? A victim to the persecutions of Fate and man, I am assailed on every side, and at all hands. Even you, my faithful friends and consolers, help to lacerate the wound. I am vexed and distressed by your jealousies and dissensions."—"Sire," replied the individual to whom he addressed himself, "these things should remain unnoticed by your Majesty. In all that concerns you, our jealousy is merely emulation; and all our dissension ceases on the expression of your slightest wish. We live only for you, and will always be ready to obey you. To us you are the *Old Man of the Mountain*; you may command us in all things, except crime."—"Well," said the Emperor, "I will think seriously of the subject I have just alluded to, and each shall have his own particular task." He dictated a few notes, and afterwards went down to the gar-

den, where he walked about for a short time alone, and then withdrew to his own apartment.

The Emperor did not quit his chamber until the moment dinner was announced. He resumed his remarks on Madame de Maintenon, whose letters he had been reading. "I am charmed," said he, "with her style, her grace, and the purity of her language. If I am violently offended by what is bad, I am at the same time exquisitely sensible to what is good. I think I prefer Madame de Maintenon's letters to those of Madame de Sevigné: they tell more. Madame de Sevigné will certainly always remain the true model of the epistolary style; she has a thousand charms and graces, but there is this defect in her writings, that one may read a great deal of them without retaining any impression of what one has read. They are like a dish of egg snow-balls, of which a man may eat till he is tired without overcharging his stomach."

The Emperor then made some observations on grammar. He asked for the grammar of Domairon, who had been our professor at the military school at Paris. He glanced through it with evident pleasure. "Such is the influence of youthful impressions," said he; "I suspect that Domairon's is not the best of grammars, yet to me it will always be the most agreeable."

“ I shall never open it without experiencing a
“ certain pleasure.”

Errors of the English ministers.—Means of which England might have availed herself for the liquidation of her debt.—The Governor's reductions.

7th.—The Emperor remained within doors the whole of the day. The Governor appeared on the grounds accompanied by a numerous group; but we fled at his approach. Several vessels have been observed out at sea.

I was summoned to attend the Emperor, and I found him engaged in perusing a work on the state of England. This became the subject of conversation; the Emperor said a great deal respecting the enormous national debt of England, the disadvantageous peace she had concluded, and the different means by which she might have extricated herself from her difficulties.

Napoleon possesses in an eminent degree the instinct of order and harmony. I once knew a man, who, being much engaged in arithmetical calculations, confessed that he could not enter a drawing-room without being led irresistibly to count the people who were in it; and that when he sat down to table he could not help summing up the number of plates, glasses, &c. Napoleon, though in a more elevated sphere, has also an irresistible habit of his own, which is to develope the grand and the beautiful in every subject that

comes under his attention. If he happens to converse about a city, he immediately suggests improvements and embellishments; if a nation be the object of his consideration, he expatiates on the means of promoting her glory, prosperity, useful institutions, &c. Many of his observations, that have already been noted down, must have rendered this fact obvious to the reader.

Either the contents of the journals and other publications of the day, or the nature of our situation here, occasioned the Emperor's attention to be constantly directed to the state of England. He frequently adverted to what she ought to have done, as well as to that which she still had to do, and which might render her future condition more prosperous. I subjoin here a few of the observations on this subject, which escaped him at various times:—

“The Colonial system,” said he one day, “is now at an end for all; for England, who possesses every colony, and for the other powers, who possess none. The empire of the seas now belongs indisputably to England; and why should she, in a new situation, wish to continue the old routine course? Why does she not adopt plans that would be more profitable to her? She must look forward to a sort of emancipation of her colonies. In course of time many will doubtless escape from her dominion, and she should therefore avail herself

“ of the present moment to obtain new securities
“ and more advantageous connexions. Why does
“ she not propose that the majority of her colonies shall purchase their emancipation by
“ taking upon themselves a portion of the general debt, which would thus become specially
“ theirs. The mother-country would by this
“ means relieve herself of her burthens, and
“ would nevertheless preserve all her advantages. She would retain, as pledges, the faith
“ of treaties, reciprocal interests, similitude of
“ language, and the force of habit; she might
“ moreover reserve, by way of guarantee, a single
“ fortified point, a harbour for her ships, after
“ the manner of the factories on the coast of
“ Africa. . . . What would she lose? Nothing;
“ and she would spare herself the trouble and
“ expense of an administration which, too often,
“ serves only to render her odious. Her ministers, it is true, would have fewer places to
“ give away; but the nation would certainly be
“ no loser.

“ I doubt not,” added he, “ that, with a thorough knowledge of the subject, some useful
“ result might be derived from the ideas which
“ I have just thrown out, however erroneous they
“ may be in their first hasty conception. Even
“ with regard to India, great advantages might be
“ obtained by the adoption of new systems. The
“ English who are here, assure me that England

“ derives nothing from India in the balance of
“ her trade: the expenses swallow up or even
“ exceed the profits. It is therefore merely a
“ source of individual advantage, and of a few
“ private fortunes of colossal magnitude; but
“ these are so much food for ministerial patron-
“ age, and therefore good care is taken not to
“ meddle with them. Those nabobs, as they
“ are styled, on their return to England, are use-
“ ful recruits to the aristocracy. It signifies not
“ that they bear the disgrace of having acquired
“ fortunes by rapine and plunder, or that they
“ exercise a baneful influence on public morals
“ by exciting in others the wish to gain the
“ same wealth by the same means: the present
“ ministers are not so scrupulous as to bestow
“ a thought on such matters. These men give
“ them their votes; and the more corrupt they
“ are, the more easily are they controlled. In
“ this state of things, where is the hope of re-
“ form? Thus, on the least proposition of amend-
“ ment, what an outcry is raised! The English
“ aristocracy is daily taking a stride in advance;
“ but as soon as there is any proposal for retro-
“ grading, were it only for the space of an inch,
“ a general explosion takes place. If the mi-
“ nutest details be touched, the whole edifice
“ begins to totter. This is very natural. If you
“ attempt to deprive a glutton of his mouthful,
“ he will defend himself like a hero.”

On another occasion the Emperor said:—
“After a twenty years’ war, after the blood and
“treasures that were lavished in the common
“cause, after a triumph beyond all hope, what
“sort of peace has England concluded? Lord
“Castlereagh had the whole Continent at his
“disposal, and yet what advantage, what indem-
“nity has he secured to his own country? He
“has signed just such a peace as he would have
“signed had he been conquered. I should not have
“required him to make greater sacrifices had I
“been victorious. But, perhaps, England thought
“herself sufficiently happy in having effected my
“overthrow; . . . in that case, hatred has avenged
“me! During our contest, England was animated
“by two powerful sentiments; her national inte-
“rest and her hatred of me. In the moment of
“triumph, the violence of the one caused her to
“lose sight of the other. She has paid dearly for
“that moment of passion!” He developed his
idea, glancing at the different measures which
shewed the errors committed by Castlereagh, and
the many advantages he had neglected. “Thou-
“sands of years will roll away,” said he, “before
“there occurs such another opportunity of secur-
“ing the welfare and real glory of England. Was
“it ignorance, or corruption, on the part of Cas-
“tlereagh? He distributed the spoil generously,
“as he seemed to think, among the Sovereigns of
“the Continent, and reserved nothing for his own

“ country ; but, in so doing, did he not fear the
“ reproach of being considered as the agent
“ rather than the partner of the Holy Allies? He
“ gave away immense territories ; Russia, Prussia,
“ and Austria acquired millions of population.
“ Where is the equivalent to England? She,
“ who was the soul of all this success, and who
“ paid so dearly for it, now reaps the fruit of the
“ *gratitude* of the Continent, and of the errors
“ or treachery of her negotiator. My continental
“ system is continued ; and the produce of her
“ manufactures is excluded. Why not have edged
“ round the Continent with free and independent
“ maritime towns, such, for example, as Dantzic,
“ Hamburgh, Antwerp, Dunkirk, Genoa, &c.
“ which would of necessity have become the
“ staples of her manufactures, and would have
“ scattered them over Europe, in spite of all the
“ duties in the world. England possessed the
“ right of doing this, and her circumstances re-
“ quired it ; her decisions would have been just,
“ and who would have opposed them at the mo-
“ ment of the liberation? Why did she create
“ to herself a difficulty, and in course of time a na-
“ tural enemy, by uniting Belgium to Holland, in-
“ stead of securing two immense resources for her
“ trade, by keeping them separate? Holland, which
“ has no manufactures of her own, would have
“ been the natural depôt for English goods ; and
“ Belgium, which might have become an English

“ colony governed by an English Prince, would
“ have been the channel for dispersing these goods
“ over France and Germany. Why not have
“ bound down Spain and Portugal by a commer-
“ cial treaty of long duration, which would have
“ repaid all the expenses incurred for their de-
“ liverance, and which might have been obtained
“ under pain of the enfranchisement of their colo-
“ nies, the trade of which, in either case, Eng-
“ land would have commanded? Why not have
“ stipulated for some advantages in the Baltic and
“ the States of Italy? These would have been
“ but the regular privileges attached to the do-
“ minion of the seas. After so long a contest in
“ support of this right, how happened its advan-
“ tages to be neglected at the moment when it
“ was really secured? Did England, while she
“ sanctioned usurpation in others, fear that any
“ opposition would have been offered to hers?
“ and by whom could it have been offered?
“ Probably England repents now, when it is too
“ late; the opportunity cannot be recovered; she
“ suffered the favourable moment to escape her!
“ . . . How many *whys* and *wherefores* might I not
“ multiply! . . . None but Lord Castlereagh
“ would have acted thus: he made himself the
“ man of the Holy Alliance, and in course of time
“ he will be the object of execration. The Lau-
“ derdales, the Grenvilles, and the Wellesleys,

“ would have pursued a very different course;
“ they would at least have acted like English-
“ men.”

At another time the Emperor said:—“ The national debt is the worm that preys on England ;
“ it is the chain of all her difficulties. It occasions the enormity of taxation, and this in its
“ turn raises the price of provisions. Hence the
“ distress of the people, the high price of labour
“ and of manufactured articles, which are not
“ disposed of with equal advantage in the continental markets.” England then ought at all
“ hazards to contend against this devouring
“ monster; she should assail it on all sides, and
“ at once subdue it *negatively* and *positively*, that
“ is to say, by the reduction of her expenditure
“ and the increase of her capital.

“ Can she not reduce the interest of her debt,
“ the high salaries, the sinecures, and the various
“ expenses attending her army establishment,
“ and renounce the latter, in order to confine herself to her navy. In short, many things might
“ be done which I cannot now enter into. With
“ regard to the increase of her capital, can she not
“ enrich herself with the ecclesiastical property,
“ which is immense, and which she would acquire
“ by a salutary reform, and by the extinction of
“ titular dignities which would give offence to no
“ one. But if a word be uttered on this subject,

“ the whole aristocracy is up in arms, and succeeds in putting down the opposition ; for in England it is the aristocracy that governs, and for which the Government acts. They repeat the favourite adage, that if the least stone of the old foundation be touched, the whole fabric will fall to the ground. This is devoutly re-echoed by the multitude ; consequently reform is stopped, and abuses are suffered to increase and multiply.

“ It is but just to acknowledge that in spite of a compound of odious, antiquated, and mean details, the English constitution presents the singular phenomenon of a happy and grand result ; and the advantages arising out of it secure the attachment of the multitude, who are fearful of losing any of the blessings they enjoy. But is it to the objectionable nature of the details that this result must be attributed ? On the contrary, it would shine with increased lustre if the grand and beautiful machine were freed from its mischievous appendages.

“ England,” continued the Emperor, “ presents an example of the dangerous effects of the borrowing system. I would never listen to any hints for the adoption of that system in France ; I was always a firm opposer of it. It was said at the time, that I contracted no loans for want of credit, and because I could find no one

“willing to lend; but this was false. Those who
“know any thing of mankind and the spirit of
“stock-jobbing, will be convinced that loans
“may always be raised by holding out the chance
“of gain and the attraction of speculation. But
“this was no part of my system, and by a spe-
“cial law, I fixed the amount of the public debt
“at what had generally been supposed to be
“conducive to the general prosperity, namely,
“at eighty millions for France in her utmost ex-
“tent, and after the union with Holland, which
“in itself produced an augmentation of twenty
“millions. This sum was reasonable and proper;
“a greater one would have been attended by
“mischievous consequences. What was the
“result of this system? What resources have
“I left behind me? France, after so many gi-
“gantic efforts and terrible disasters, is now
“more prosperous than ever! Her finances are
“the first in Europe! To whom and to what
“are these advantages to be attributed? So far
“was I from wishing to swallow up the future,
“that I had resolved to leave a treasury behind
“me. I had even formed one, the funds of
“which I lent to different banking-houses, em-
“barrassed families, and the individuals who were
“about my person.

“I should not only have carefully preserved
“the sinking fund, but I calculated on having,
“in course of time, surpluses which would have

“ been constantly increasing, and which might
“ have been actively applied for the furtherance
“ of public works and improvements. I should
“ have had the fund of the Empire for general
“ works ; the fund of the departments for local
“ works, and the fund of the communes for mu-
“ nicipal works, &c.”

In the course of another conversation, the Emperor observed :—“ England is said to traffic
“ in every thing : why, then, does she not sell
“ liberty, for which she might get a high price,
“ and without any fear of exhausting her own
“ stock ; for modern liberty is essentially moral,
“ and does not betray its engagements. For
“ example, what would not the poor Spaniards
“ give her to free them from the yoke to which
“ they have been again subjected ? I am con-
“ fident they would willingly pay any price to
“ recover their freedom. It was I who inspired
“ them with this sentiment ; and the error into
“ which I fell, might, at least, be turned to
“ good account by another government. As to
“ the Italians, I have planted in their hearts prin-
“ ciples that never can be rooted out. What
“ can England do better than to promote and
“ assist the noble impulses of modern regene-
“ ration ? Sooner or later, this regeneration
“ must be accomplished. Sovereigns and old
“ aristocratic institutions may exert their efforts
“ to oppose it, but in vain. They are dooming

“ themselves to the punishment of Sisyphus ;
“ but, sooner or later, some arm will tire of re-
“ sistance, and then the whole system will fall
“ to nothing. Would it not be better to yield
“ with a good grace ?—this was my intention.
“ Why does England refuse to avail herself
“ of the glory and advantage she might derive
“ from this course of proceeding ? Every thing
“ passes away in England as well as elsewhere.
“ Castlereagh’s administration will pass away,
“ and that which may succeed it, and which is
“ doomed to inherit the fruit of so many errors,
“ may become great by only discontinuing the
“ system that has hitherto been pursued. He
“ who may happen to be placed at the head of
“ the English cabinet, has merely to allow things
“ to take their course, and to obey the winds that
“ blow. By becoming the leader of liberal prin-
“ ciples, instead of leaguings with absolute power,
“ like Castlereagh, he will render himself the
“ object of universal benediction, and England
“ will forget her wrongs. Fox was capable of
“ so acting, but Pitt was not : the reason is,
“ that, in Fox, the heart warmed the genius ;
“ while, in Pitt, the genius withered the heart.
“ But it may be asked, why I, all-powerful as I
“ was, did not pursue the course I have here
“ traced out ?—how, since I can speak so well, I
“ could have acted so ill ? I reply to those who
“ make this inquiry with sincerity, that there is

“ no comparison between my situation and that
“ of the English government. England may
“ work on a soil which extends to the very
“ bowels of the earth ; while I could labour
“ only on a sandy surface. England reigns over
“ an established order of things ; while I had to
“ take upon myself the great charge, the im-
“ mense difficulty of consolidating and esta-
“ blishing. I purified a revolution, in spite of
“ hostile factions. I combined together all the
“ scattered benefits that could be preserved ; but
“ I was obliged to protect them with a nervous
“ arm, against the attacks of all parties ; and in
“ this situation it may truly be said, that the
“ public interest, *the State, was myself*.

“ Our principles were attacked from without ;
“ and in the name of these very principles, I was
“ assailed in the opposite sense at home. Had
“ I relaxed but ever so little, we should soon have
“ been brought back to the time of the Directory ;
“ I should have been the object, and France the
“ infallible victim, of a *counter Brumaire*. We
“ are in our nature so restless and inconsiderate !
“ If twenty revolutions were to ensue, we should
“ have twenty constitutions. This is one of the
“ subjects that are studied most, and observed the
“ least. We have much need to grow older in
“ this great and glorious path ; for here our great
“ men have all shewn themselves to be mere
“ children. May the present generation profit

“ by the faults that have hitherto been committed, and prove as wise as it is enthusiastic !”

To-day the Governor commenced his grand reductions, and it was thought proper to deprive us of eight English domestics, who had formerly been granted to us. To the servants this was a subject of deep regret, and it was gratifying to ourselves to observe, that we won the regard of all who were permitted to approach us. We are now absolutely in want of daily necessities, to supply which the Emperor proposes to dispose of his plate ; this is his only resource.

After dinner the Emperor read the *Cercle*, and retired immediately, although it was very early in the evening. He was indisposed, and could not fall asleep. He sent for me about midnight. By chance I had not retired to rest, and I remained in conversation with him for the space of two hours.

The Emperor's Court at the Tuileries.—The presentation of the Ladies.—On women's ages.—Manuscript of the Island of Elba.

8th.—The Emperor sent for me very early : he was just finishing his toilette. He had had no sleep during the night, and he seemed much fatigued. The weather had become somewhat tolerable,

and he desired to have his breakfast under the tent. While it was preparing, he took a few turns about the garden, and resumed the conversation he had had with me on the preceding night. . . .

He invited Madame de Montholon to breakfast, and afterwards we took a drive in the calash, of which the Emperor had made no use for a considerable time. He had scarcely inhaled the fresh air for several days.

The conversation once more turned on the subject of the Emperor's Court at the Tuileries, the multitude of individuals composing it, the spirit and address with which Napoleon went through the ceremony of the presentations, &c. I pass over many of the observations that were made, for the sake of avoiding repetition.

"It is more difficult than is generally supposed," said the Emperor, "to speak to every body in a crowded assemblage, and yet say nothing to any one; to seem to know a multitude of people, nine-tenths of whom are total strangers to one."

Again, when alluding to the period when he was in the plenitude of his power, he observed, that it was at once easy and difficult to approach him, to communicate with him, and to be appreciated by him; and that it depended on the merest chance in the world whether his courtiers made or missed their fortunes. "Now that I am myself entirely out of the question," said he,

“ now that I am reduced to the level of a mere private individual, and can reflect philosophically on the time when I was called to execute the designs of Providence, without, however, ceasing to be a man, I see how much the fate of those I governed really depended upon chance; and how often favour and credit were purely accidental. Intrigue is so dextrous, and merit often so *maladroit*, these extremes approximate so closely to each other, that with the best intentions in the world, I find that my benefits were distributed like prizes in a lottery. And yet could I have done better? Was I faulty in my intentions, or remiss in my exertions? Have other sovereigns done better than I did? It is only thus that I can be judged: The fault was in the nature of my situation, and in the force of things.”

We then spoke of the presentation of the ladies at Court, their embarrassment, and the plans, views, and hopes that were formed by some of them. Madame de Montholon revealed the secrets of several of her acquaintance, by which it appeared that if in the saloons of Paris some were heard to exclaim against the Emperor's coarseness of manners, harshness of expression, and ugliness of person, others, who were better disposed, better informed, and differently affected, extolled the sweetness of his voice, the grace of his manners, the delicacy of his smile, and, above

all, his celebrated hand, which was said to be ridiculously beautiful.

These advantages, it was observed, combined with great power and still greater glory, were naturally calculated to excite and to give rise to certain romantic stories. Thus at the Tuileries how many endeavoured to render themselves pleasing to the sovereign! How many sought to inspire a sentiment which it is probable they themselves really felt!

The Emperor smiled at our remarks and conjectures; and he confessed that, notwithstanding the mass of business and the cloud of flattery in which he was enveloped, he had oftener than once observed the sentiments to which we alluded. A few of the least timid among his admirers had, he said, even solicited and obtained interviews. We now laughed in our turn, and said that at the time these stories had been the subject of a great deal of gaiety. But the Emperor seriously protested that they were void of foundation. In a more private conversation at the Briars, during one of our walks by moonlight, the Emperor, as I have stated in a former part of my journal, made the same assertion, and contradicted every report of this nature, except one.

Our next subject of conversation was the repugnance of women to let their age be known. The Emperor made some very lively and entertaining remarks. An instance was mentioned of

a woman who preferred losing an important lawsuit to confessing her age. The case would have been decided in her favour, had she produced the register of her baptism, but this she could not be prevailed on to do.

Another anecdote of the same kind was mentioned. A certain lady was much attached to a gentleman, and was convinced that her union with him would render her happy; but she could not marry without proving the date of her birth, and she preferred remaining single.

The Emperor informed us that a distinguished lady, at the time of her marriage, had deceived her husband, and represented herself to be five or six years younger than she really was, by producing the baptismal register of her younger sister, who had been dead some time. "However," said the Emperor, "in so doing, poor Josephine exposed herself to some risk. This might really have proved a case of nullity of marriage." These words furnished us with the key to certain dates, which, at the Tuileries, were the subject of jesting and ridicule, and which we then attributed wholly to the gallantry and extreme complaisance of the Imperial Almanack.

About four o'clock the Emperor took a short walk. I did not accompany him. On his return, he informed us that he had visited the Company's garden, where he had met several very

pretty women. "But I had not my interpreter "with me," he added, pointing to me. "The "rogue left me, and nothing could be more proving, for I never felt more inclined to avail "myself of his assistance." This little walk, however, did the Emperor no good, for he was presently seized with a severe toothache.

A vessel which had come from the Cape some time ago, sailed for Europe this day. Several English military officers, who were passengers on board this ship, had not been permitted to wait on the Emperor, in spite of their repeated solicitations. This was a new instance of the Governor's malevolence. These officers were men of distinction, and their reports on their return home might have had some influence. The Governor, in defiance of all truth, informed them that Napoleon had determined to receive no one.

The Emperor some time ago analyzed to us a subject which he said he intended to dictate in fourteen chapters, and which had forcibly struck me by its truth, its force, its just reasoning, and its dignity. I frequently alluded to it when I happened to be alone with him; and he laughed more than once at the perseverance I evinced, which, he said, was not usual with me. To-day he informed me that he had at length produced something, though not in fourteen chapters, nor on the promised subject; but that I must be con-

tent with it. I have read it; and it is certainly a very remarkable fragment. I do not believe that the revolution has produced any thing more comprehensive and energetic on the governments of the last twenty-five years in France, namely, the Republic, the Consulate, and the Empire.

The exposition and developement of the ten chapters which compose this work may be regarded as a perfect outline of the subject. The style is remarkably simple and nervous. Each chapter is full and forcible, and the whole, which consists of fifty pages, is struck off and finished with a masterly hand. I have understood that the groundwork of these ideas should have been the Emperor's manifesto at the time of his landing from Elba.

Since my return to Europe, this little work has been published, under the title of *Manuscrit de l'Ile d'Elbe*; though I have reason to believe that at first another title was intended for it. Be this as it may, since the work is but little known, and as those who have read it may be ignorant of its real origin, I here transcribe almost literally several chapters, which will serve to prove its source and its authority.

Chap. I.—In the sixteenth century, the Pope, Spain, and the Sixteen, attempt in vain to raise a fourth dynasty to the throne of France. Henry IV. succeeds to Henry III. without an interregnum: he conquers the League; but finds that

the only means of securing himself on the throne, is by sincerely joining the party which constitutes the majority of the nation.

“ Henry IV. was proclaimed King at St. Cloud, on the day on which Henry III. died. His sovereignty was acknowledged by all the Protestant churches, and by a part of the Catholic nobility. The Holy League which had been formed against Henry III., in hatred of the Protestants, and to avenge the death of the Duke de Guise, was master of Paris, and commanded five-sixths of the kingdom. The leaguers refused to acknowledge Henry IV., but they proclaimed no other sovereign. The Duke of Mentz, the chief of the League, exercised authority under the title of Lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The accession of Henry IV. produced no change in the forms adopted by the League for exercising its power: each town was governed, as in disturbed and factious times, by local or military authorities. - At no period, not even on the day succeeding his entrance into Paris, did Henry IV. acknowledge the acts of the League, and the latter never set up any pretensions that he should do so. No law, no regulation, emanated from the League. The Parliament of Paris was divided into two parties; one for the leaguers, which sat at Paris, and the other for Henry IV. which assembled at Tours. But these parliaments drew up and registered none but judiciary acts. The provinces

retained their own organization and privileges, and were governed by their own common laws. It has already been observed that the League had not proclaimed any other sovereign ; but it acknowledged for a moment as King, Cardinal de Bourbon, Henry's uncle. The Cardinal, however, did not consent to second the designs of the enemies of his house. Besides, Henry had seized his person ; no act emanated from him, and the League continued subject to the authority of the Duke of Mentz, the Lieutenant-general. There was therefore no interregnum between Henry III. and Henry IV.

“ The League was divided by several parties. The Sorbonne had decided that the rights of birth could confer no right to the crown on a prince who was an enemy to the Church. The Pope had declared that Henry IV. having relapsed, had forfeited his rights for ever ; and that he could not recover them, even though he should return to the bosom of the Church. Henry IV. King of Navarre was born a Protestant ; but, at the time of the events of St. Bartholomew, he was compelled to marry Margaret de Valois, and to abjure the reformed religion. However, as soon as he withdrew from the Court, and found himself amidst the Protestants on the left bank of the Loire, he declared that his abjuration had been wholly compulsory, and he again embraced the Protestant faith. This step caused him to be

characterized as an obstinate renegado ; but the majority of the League were of opinion that it would be proper to summon Henry to return to the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church ; and acknowledge him as sovereign, as soon as he should abjure Protestantism, and receive absolution from the bishops.

“The leaguers convoked the States-general of the kingdom at Paris. The Spanish ambassadors now unmasked the designs of their sovereign, and urged the States to establish a fourth dynasty on the throne of France, on the ground that Henry and Condé, by their apostacy, having forfeited their rights to the crown, the male line of the Capets was extinct. They accordingly set forth the claims of the Infanta of Spain, the daughter of Henry II. of France, who was the first in the female line. Even supposing that, by the extinction of the male line of descent, the nation possessed the right of disposing of the crown, they still insisted that its choice ought to fall on the Infanta, for two reasons : first, because it was impossible to select a princess of more illustrious family ; and secondly, because France was indebted to Philip II. for his exertions in supporting the cause of the League. The Infanta was to marry a French prince, and mention was even made of the Duke de Guise, the son of the Duke who had been assassinated at Blois. There was already a body of Spanish

troops in Paris, commanded by the Duke of Mentz; and it was proposed that an army of 50,000 Spaniards should be maintained in Paris by the Court of Madrid, which would devote its whole power and resources to ensure the triumph of this fourth dynasty. The Sixteen supported these propositions, which were sanctioned by the Court of Rome, and seconded by the utmost efforts of the Legate. But all was vain; public spirit was roused at the idea of a foreign nation disposing of the throne of France. That part of the Parliament which sat at Paris addressed remonstrances to the Duke of Mentz, the Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and urged him to enforce the observance of the fundamental laws of the monarchy, and of the Salic law in particular. Had the designs of the Spanish faction succeeded; had the States-general declared the crown to have been forfeited by the descendants of Hugues Capet; had a fourth dynasty been raised to the throne, accepted by the nation, and sanctioned by the religion acknowledged among the powers of Europe, the rights of the third dynasty would have been extinct.

“ Henry conquered the League at Arques and on the plains of Ivry, and he then besieged Paris. However, he was convinced of the impossibility of reigning in France, unless he joined the national party. He had conquered with an army composed entirely of French troops: if he had

under his command a small corps of English, the leaguers had a still more considerable number of Spaniards and Italians. On both sides, therefore, the contest had been maintained by Frenchmen against Frenchmen; the foreigners were merely auxiliaries; the national honour and independence could not be compromised, whichever party might be declared victorious. *Ventre Saint-gris! Paris vaut bien une messe!* were the exclamations by which Henry used to sound the opinion of the Huguenots; and when, at the Council of Beauvais, he assembled the principal leaders of the Protestant party to deliberate on the resolution which it was most advisable he should adopt, the majority, and in particular the most intelligent individuals among them, advised the king to abjure his faith and to join the national party. Henry pronounced his abjuration at Saint-Denis, and received absolution from the Bishops; the gates of Paris were thrown open to him, and his authority was acknowledged by the whole kingdom. He now frankly espoused the national party. Almost all the public posts were occupied by the leaguers. The Protestants, those who had constantly served the King, and to whom he was indebted for his victories, frequently raised their complaints against him, and taxed him with ingratitude. Still however, in spite of all the dis-

crétion that was observed, the nation continued long to mistrust the secret intentions of Henry. It was remarked that *what is bred in the bone will never be out of the flesh.*

Chap. II.—The Republic consecrated by the will of the people, by religion, by victory, and by all the Powers of Europe.

Hugues Capet ascended the throne by the choice of the Parliament, consisting of Lords and Bishops, which two classes then constituted the nation. The French monarchy was never absolute; the intervention of the States General has always been necessary for sanctioning the principal acts of the legislature, and for levying new taxes. Subsequently the French parliaments, under the pretence of being States General on a small scale, and seconded by the court, usurped the rights of the nation. It 1788, the parliaments were the first to acknowledge them. Louis XVI. convoked the States General in 1789, and the nation exercised a portion of the sovereignty. The Constituent Assembly framed a new constitution for the state, which was sanctioned by the approval of the whole French people, and which Louis XVI. accepted and swore to maintain. The Legislative Assembly suspended the King. The Convention, which consisted of the deputies of all the primary assemblies in the Kingdom, and which was invested with special powers,

proclaimed the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of the Republic. The adherents of the royal party fled from France, and solicited the aid of foreign arms. Austria and Prussia signed the convention of Pilnitz; and Austrian and Prussian armies, joined by the French royalist forces, commenced the war of the first coalition to subdue the French people. The whole nation took up arms; and the Austrians and Prussians were conquered. The second coalition was afterwards formed by Austria, England, and Russia; but this was destroyed like the first, and all the Powers in Europe acknowledged the French Republic.

1st.—The Republic of Genoa, by an extraordinary embassy, on the 15th of June, 1792.

2d.—The Porte, by a declaration, on the 27th of March, 1793.

3d.—Tuscany, by the treaty of the 9th of February, 1795.

4th.—Holland, by the treaty of the 16th of May, 1795.

5th.—The Venetian Republic, by an extraordinary embassy, on the 30th of December, 1795.

6th.—The King of Prussia, by the treaty signed at Bâle, on the 5th of April, 1795.

7th.—The King of Spain, by the treaty signed at Bâle, on the 22nd of July, 1795.

8th.—Hesse-Cassel, by the treaty of the 28th of July, 1795.

9th.—Switzerland, by the treaty of the 19th of August, 1795.

10th.—Denmark, by a declaration, on the 18th of August, 1795.

11th.—Sweden, by an embassy, on the 23d of April, 1795.

12th.—Sardinia, by the treaty of Paris, on the 28th of April, 1796.

13th.—America, by an extraordinary embassy, on the 30th of December, 1796.

14th.—Naples, by the treaty of the 10th of October, 1796.

15th.—Parma, by the treaty of the 5th of November, 1796.

16th.—Wurtemberg, by the treaty of the 7th of August, 1796.

17th.—Baden, by the treaty of the 22d of August, 1796.

18th.—Bavaria, by the treaty of the 24th of July, 1797.

19th.—Portugal, by the treaty of the 19th of August, 1797.

20th.—The Pope, by the treaty signed at Tolentino on the 19th of February, 1797.

21st.—The Emperor of Germany, by the treaty of Campo-Formio, on the 7th of October, 1797.

22d.—The Emperor of Russia, by a treaty signed on the 8th of October, 1801:

23d.—The King of England, by the treaty signed at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802.

The government of the Republic sent ambassadors to all the Powers of Europe, and received envoys from those powers in return. The tri-coloured flag was acknowledged in every sea, and throughout the world. At Tolentino, the Pope had treated with the Republic as a temporal sovereign; but he acknowledged and treated with it as head of the Catholic religion, by the Concordate which was signed at Paris on the 18th of April, 1802. Most of the bishops, who had followed the Royalist party abroad, now submitted to the Republican government, and those who refused, forfeited their sees. In short, the French Republic, which was sanctioned by the citizens, and victorious by its armies, was acknowledged by every sovereign, every power, and every religion in the world, and in particular by the Catholic Church.

Not only was the Republic acknowledged by all the powers in the world, after the death of Louis XVI., but none of these powers ever acknowledged a successor to him. In the year 1800, therefore, the third dynasty was ended as completely as the first and second. The rights and titles of the Merovingians were extinguished by the rights and titles of the Carolingians; the rights and titles of the Carolingians were extinguished by the rights and titles of the Capetians; and the rights of the Capetians were, in like

manner, extinguished by the Republic. Every legitimate government supersedes the rights and the legitimacy of the governments that have preceded it. The Republic was a government, in fact and in right, rendered legitimate by the will of the nation, sanctioned by the Church, and by the adherence of all the powers in the world.

Chap. III.—The Revolution rendered France a new nation :—it emancipated the Gauls from the tyranny of the Franks : it created new interests, and a new order of things conformable with the welfare and rights of the people, and the justice and knowledge of the age.

The French Revolution was not produced by the jarring interests of two families disputing the possession of the throne ; it was a general rising of the mass of the nation against the privileged classes. The French nobility, like that of every country in Europe, dates its origin from the incursion of the barbarians, who divided among themselves the possession of the Roman Empire. In France the nobles represented the Franks and the Burgundians, and the rest of the nation the Gauls. The feudal system that was introduced established the principle that all land should have a lord. All political privileges were exercised by the priests and nobles ; the peasants were slaves, and in part attached to the glebe. The progress of civilization and knowledge emancipated the people. This new state of things promoted in-

dustry and trade. The chief portion of the land, wealth, and information, fell to the share of the people in the eighteenth century. The nobles, however, still continued to be a privileged class: they were empowered to administer justice, and they possessed feudal rights under various denominations and forms: they were exempt from contributing to support any of the burthens of the state, and enjoyed exclusive possession of the most honourable posts. These abuses roused the indignation of the citizens. The principal object of the revolution was to destroy all privileges; to abolish signiorial jurisdictions, justice being an inseparable attribute of sovereign authority; to suppress feudal rights, as being a remnant of the old slavery of the people; to oblige all citizens and all property, equally and without distinction, to contribute to maintain the burthens of the state. In short, the Revolution proclaimed equality of rights. A citizen might attain any public employment, according to his talent and the chances of fortune. The kingdom was composed of provinces which had been united to the crown at various periods: they had no natural limits, and were differently divided, unequal in extent and in population. They possessed many laws of their own, civil as well as criminal: they were more or less privileged, and very unequally taxed, both with respect to the amount and the nature of the con-

tributions, which rendered it necessary to detach them from each other by lines of custom-houses. France was not a state, but a combination of several states, connected together without amalgamation. The whole had been determined by chance and by the events of past ages. The Revolution, guided by the principle of equality both with respect to the citizens and the different portions of the territory, destroyed all these small nations; there was no longer a Brittany, a Normandy, a Burgundy, a Champaign, a Provence, or a Lorraine; but the whole formed a France. A division of homogeneous territory, prescribed by local circumstances, confounded the limits of all the provinces. They possessed the same judiciary and administrative organization, the same civil and criminal laws, and the same system of taxation. The dreams of the upright men of all ages were realized. The opposition which the court, the clergy, and the nobility, set up against the Revolution, occasioned the war of foreign powers, and produced the law of emigration and the sequestration of emigrant property, which subsequently it was found necessary to sell, to assist in supporting the charges of the war. A great portion of the French nobility enrolled themselves under the banner of the princes of the Bourbon family, and formed an army which marched in junction with the Austrian, Prussian, and English forces. Gentlemen who

had been brought up in the enjoyment of competency served as private soldiers: numbers were cut off by fatigue and the sword; others perished of want in foreign countries; and the wars of La Vendée and of the Chouans, and the revolutionary tribunals, swept away thousands. Three-fourths of the French nobility were thus destroyed; and all posts, civil, judicial, or military, were filled by citizens who had risen from the common mass of the people. The change produced in persons and property, by the events of the Revolution, was no less remarkable than that which was effected by the principles of the Revolution. A new church was created; the dioceses of Vienna, Narbonne, Frejus, Sisteron, Rheims, &c. were superseded by sixty new dioceses, the boundaries of which were circumscribed, in the Concordate, by new Bulls applicable to the present state of the French territory. The suppression of religious orders, the sale of convents and of all ecclesiastical property, were sanctioned, and the clergy were pensioned by the state. Every thing that was the result of the events which had succeeded since the time of Clovis, ceased to exist. All these changes were so advantageous to the people, that they were effected with the utmost facility, and, in 1800, there no longer remained any recollection of the old privileges and sovereigns of the provinces,

the old parliaments and bailiwicks, or the old dioceses; and to trace back the origin of all that existed, it was sufficient to refer to the new law by which it had been established. One-half of the land had changed its proprietors; the peasantry and the citizens were enriched. The advancement of agriculture and manufactures exceeded the most sanguine hopes. France presented the imposing spectacle of upwards of thirty millions of inhabitants, circumscribed within their natural limits, and composing only a single class of citizens, governed by one law, one rule, and one order. All these changes were conformable with the welfare and rights of the nation, and with the justice and intelligence of the age.

Chap. IV.—The French people establish the Imperial throne, to consolidate the new interests of the nation. The fourth dynasty did not immediately succeed the third; it succeeded the Republic. Napoleon is crowned by the Pope, and acknowledged by the Powers of Europe. He creates kings, and the armies of all the Continental Powers march under his command.

The five members of the Directory were divided. Enemies to the Republic crept into the councils; and thus men, hostile to the rights of the people, became connected with the government. This state of things kept the country in a fermentation; and the great interests which the French people had acquired by the Revolution

were incessantly compromised. A unanimous voice, issuing from the plains of France and from the bosom of her cities and her camps, demanded the preservation of all the principles of the Republic, or the establishment of an hereditary system in the government, which would place the principles and interests of the Revolution beyond the reach of factions and the influence of foreigners. By the constitution of the year VIII. the First Consul of the Republic became Consul for ten years, and the nation afterwards prolonged his magistracy for life: the people subsequently raised him to the throne, which it rendered hereditary in his family. The principles of the sovereignty of the people, of liberty and equality, of the destruction of the feudal system, of the irrevocability of the sale of national domains, and the freedom of religious worship, were now established. The government of France, under the fourth dynasty, was founded on the same principles as the Republic. It was a moderate and constitutional monarchy. There was as much difference betwixt the government of France under the fourth dynasty and the third, as betwixt the latter and the Republic. The fourth dynasty succeeded the Republic, or, more properly speaking, it was merely a modification of it.

No prince ever ascended a throne with rights more legitimate than those of Napoléon. The

crown was not presented to him by a few bishops and nobles; but he was raised to the Imperial throne by the unanimous consent of the citizens, three times solemnly confirmed. Pope Pius VII. the head of the Catholic religion, the religion of the majority of the French people, crossed the Alps to anoint the Emperor with his own hands, in the presence of the bishops of France, the cardinals of the Roman Church, and the deputies from all the districts of the Empire. The sovereigns of Europe eagerly acknowledged Napoleon: all beheld with pleasure the modification of the Republic which placed France on a footing of harmony with the rest of Europe, and which at once confirmed the constitution and the happiness of that great nation. Ambassadors from Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, and America, in fine, from all the Powers of Europe, came to congratulate the Emperor. England alone sent no ambassador: she had violated the treaty of Amiens, and had consequently again declared war against France; but even England approved the change. Lord Whitworth, in the secret negotiations which took place through the medium of Count Malouet, and which preceded the rupture of the peace of Amiens, proposed, on the part of the English government, to acknowledge Napoleon as King of France, on condition of his agreeing to the

cession of Malta. The First Consul replied, that if ever the welfare of France required that he should ascend the throne, it would only be by the free and spontaneous will of the French people. In 1806, when Lord Lauderdale came to Paris to negotiate peace between the King of England and the Emperor, he exchanged his powers, as is proved by the protocol of the negotiations, and he treated with the Emperor's plenipotentiary. The death of Fox broke up the negotiations of Lord Lauderdale. The English Minister had it in his power to obviate the Prussian campaign*, to prevent the battle of Jena.

* While Lord Lauderdale was in Paris, and negotiating with the Emperor's plenipotentiaries, Prussia took up arms and assumed a hostile attitude. Lord Lauderdale seemed to disapprove of this conduct, and to consider the contest very unequal. Being informed that Napoleon intended to march at the head of the army, he enquired whether the Emperor would consent to defer his departure, and to enter into arrangements with Prussia, if England would accept the basis of the negotiations, that is to say, the *uti possidetis* on both sides, including Hanover. The discussion was maintained on the subject of Hanover, which England wished to recover independently of this basis. By the reply of the Cabinet of St. James's Lord Lauderdale was recalled. The Emperor set out, and the battle of Jena took place; Fox was then dead.

We were, at this period, eye-witnesses to the regret and repugnance which Napoleon evinced at the necessity of going to war with Prussia. He was disposed to leave Hanover in the possession of that power, and to recognize a confederation of the North of Germany. He felt that Prussia having never been

When, in 1814, the Allies presented an *ultimatum* at Chaumont, Lord Castlereagh, in signing this *ultimatum*, again acknowledged the existence of the Empire in the person and the family of Napoleon. If the latter did not accept the propositions of the Congress of Chatillon, it was because he did not conceive himself at liberty to cede a portion of the Empire, the integrity of which he had, at his coronation, sworn to maintain.

The Electors of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Saxony, were created Kings by Napoleon.

The armies of Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse, fought in conjunction with the French armies; and the Russian and French troops fought together in 1809, in the war against Austria. In 1812, the Emperor of Austria concluded at Paris an alliance with Napoleon, and Prince Schwartzemberg commanded, under his orders, the Austrian contingent in the Russian campaign, in which he attained the rank of Field Marshal, on the application of the French Emperor. A similar treaty of alliance was concluded at Berlin, and the Prussian army also fought with the French in the campaign of Russia.

beaten or humbled by France, and her power being still unimpaired, she could have no interests hostile to his; but that, if once she were subdued, she must be destroyed.

The Emperor healed the wounds which the Revolution had inflicted : the emigrants returned, and the list of proscription was obliterated. Napoleon enjoyed the glory most gratifying to a monarch, by recalling and re-establishing in their homes upwards of 20,000 families : their unsold property was restored to them ; and the veil of oblivion being thrown over the past, individuals of every class, whatever line of conduct they might previously have pursued, were admitted to all public employments. Families who had distinguished themselves by the services they had rendered to the Bourbons, those who had shewn themselves most devoted to the Royal Family, filled places about the court, and in the ministry, and held commissions in the army. All party denominations were forgotten : aristocrats and Jacobins were no longer spoken of ; and the institution of the Legion of Honour, which was at once the reward of military, civil, and judicial services, placed on a footing of unity the soldier, the man of science, the artist, the prelate, and the magistrate ; it became the token of concord among all classes and parties.

Chap. V.—The blood of the Imperial dynasty mingled with that of all the monarchical Houses in Europe ; with those of Russia, Prussia, England, and Austria.

The Imperial House of France contracted alliances with all the sovereign families of Europe.

Prince Eugène Napoleon, the adopted son of the Emperor, married the eldest daughter of the King of Bavaria, a princess distinguished for her beauty and her virtues. This alliance, which was contracted at Munich on the 14th of January, 1806, afforded the highest satisfaction to the Bavarian nation. The Hereditary Prince of Baden, the brother-in-law of the Emperor of Russia, solicited the hand of Princess Stephanie, the adopted daughter of the Emperor Napoleon: this marriage was celebrated at Paris on the 7th of April, 1806. On the 22d of August, 1807, Prince Jerome Napoleon married the eldest daughter of the King of Wurtemberg, cousin-german of the Emperor of Russia, the King of England, and the King of Prussia. Other alliances of this nature were contracted with sovereign princes of Germany, of the House of Hohen-zollern. These marriages have proved happy, and all have given birth to princes and princesses who will transmit to future generations the recollection of the Imperial government of France.

When the interests of France and the Empire induced the Emperor and the Empress Josephine to break bonds which were equally dear to them both, the greatest sovereigns in Europe courted the alliance of Napoleon. Had it not been for religious scruples, and the delays occasioned by distance, it is probable that a Russian princess

would have occupied the throne of France. The Archduchess Maria Louisa, who was married to the Emperor by procuration granted to Prince Charles, at Vienna, on the 11th of March, 1810, and at Paris on the 2d of April following, ascended the throne of France. As soon as the Emperor of Austria learned that Napoleon's marriage was in agitation, he expressed his surprise that an alliance with the House of Austria had not been thought of. The choice was hitherto divided between a Russian and a Saxon princess: Francis explained his sentiments on this subject to the Count de Narbonne, the Governor of Trieste, who was then at Vienna; and, in consequence, instructions were forwarded to the Prince of Schwartzemberg, the Austrian ambassador at Paris. In February, 1810, a Privy Council was convoked at the Tuileries: the Minister for Foreign Affairs submitted to the Council the despatches of the Duke of Vicenza, the French ambassador at the Court of Russia. These communications shewed that the Emperor Alexander was very much disposed to give his sister, the Grand-duchess Anne, in marriage to Napoleon; but he seemed to make it a point of importance that the Princess should be allowed the public exercise of her religious worship, and a chapel appropriated to the Greek rites. The despatches from Vienna developed the insinuations and the wishes of the Austrian

Court. There was a division of opinions in the French Council: the Russian, the Saxon, and the Austrian alliance, all found supporters; but the majority voted for the choice of an Archduchess of Austria. As Prince Eugène had been the first to propose the Austrian alliance, the Emperor, breaking up the sitting at two in the morning, authorized him to commence overtures with Prince Schwartzenberg. He at the same time authorized the Minister for foreign affairs to sign, in the course of the day, the conventions of the marriage with the Austrian ambassador; and, to obviate all difficulties with respect to the details, he directed him to sign, word for word, the same contract as that which had been drawn up for the marriage of Louis XVI. and the Archduchess Maria-Antoinette. In the morning, Prince Eugène had an interview with Prince Schwartzenberg: the contract was signed the same day, and the courier who conveyed the intelligence to Austria agreeably surprised the Emperor Francis. The peculiar circumstances attending the signature of this marriage contract led the Emperor Alexander to suspect that he had been trifled with, and that the Court of the Tuileries had been conducting two negotiations at once. But this was a mistake: the negotiation with Vienna was begun and concluded in one day*.

* A report was pretty generally circulated, that the marriage
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Never did the birth of any prince excite so much enthusiasm in a people, or produce so powerful a sensation throughout Europe, as the birth of the King of Rome. On the firing of the first gun, which announced the delivery of the Empress, the whole population of Paris were wrapt in the most anxious suspense. In the streets, the promenades, at the places of public amusement, and in the interior of the houses, all were eagerly intent on counting the number of guns. The twenty-second excited universal transport: it had been usual to discharge twenty-one guns on the birth of a princess, and a hundred and one

of the Archduchess Maria-Louisa with the Emperor Napoleon, was a secret article of the treaty of Vienna: this idea is void of foundation. The treaty of Vienna is dated Oct. 15, 1809, and the marriage contract was signed at Paris on the 7th of Feb. 1810.

Every individual who was present at the deliberations of the Privy Council, can attest that the circumstances of the marriage were such as they have been above described; that no idea of the Austrian alliance was entertained before the contents of the Count de Narbonne's despatches were made known; and that the marriage with the Archduchess Maria-Louisa was proposed, discussed, and determined on in the Council, and signed within the space of four-and-twenty hours.

The members of the Council were—the Emperor, the great dignitaries of the Empire, the high officers of the Crown, all the ministers, the presidents of the Senate and the Legislative Body, and the ministers of state, presidents of the sections of the Council of State; amounting, in all, to 25.

on the birth of a prince. All the European powers deputed the most distinguished noblemen of their Courts to present their congratulations to the Emperor. The Emperor of Russia sent his Minister of the interior; and the Emperor of Austria despatched Count Clary, one of his highest crown officers, who brought, as presents to the young king, the collars of all the orders of the Austrian Monarchy, set with diamonds. The baptism of the King of Rome was celebrated with the utmost pomp, in the presence of the French bishops, and deputies from all parts of the Empire. The Emperor of Austria was sponsor to the young king by proxy; he was represented by his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, Grand-Duke of Tuscany.

Chap. VI.—Containing some account of the campaign of Saxony*, and shewing that the league of 1813 was in its object foreign to the Restoration.

The victories of Lutzen and Wurchen, on the 2d and 22d of May, 1813, had re-established the

* I did not choose to suppress this summary of the campaign in Saxony, although the same subject has already been particularly treated of at the commencement of this volume. If, however, some readers should consider it merely a repetition, others will find in it the means of comparing and verifying what has been before stated: one of the accounts is drawn up from documents published in Europe, whilst the other was dictated at Saint-Helena by Napoleon himself.

reputation of the French arms. The King of Saxony was brought back in triumph to his capital; the enemy was driven from Hamburg; one of the corps of the grand army was at the gates of Berlin, and the imperial head-quarters were established at Breslau. The Russian and Prussian armies, disheartened by their defeats, had no alternative but to repass the Vistula, when Austria interfered and advised France to sign an armistice. Napoleon returned to Dresden, the Emperor of Austria quitted Vienna and repaired to Bohemia, and the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia established themselves at Schweidnitz. Communications took place between the different powers. Count Metternich proposed the congress of Prague, which was agreed on; but it was merely the shadow of a congress. The Court of Vienna had already entered into engagements with Russia and Prussia, and intended to declare itself in the month of May, when the unexpected success of the French army rendered greater circumspection necessary. Notwithstanding all the efforts which Austria had exerted, her army was still inconsiderable in number, badly organized, and ill prepared to enter upon a campaign. Count Metternich demanded, on the part of Austria, the surrender of the Illyrian Provinces, one half of the kingdom of Italy, (that is to say, Venice, as far as the Mincio,) and Poland. It was

moreover required that Napoleon should renounce the Protectorate of Germany, and the departments of the thirty-second military division. These extravagant propositions were advanced only that they might be rejected. The Duke of Vicenza proceeded to the Congress of Prague. The choice of Baron d'Austetten, as the Russian plenipotentiary, shewed that Russia wished not for peace, but was merely anxious to afford Austria time to complete her military preparations. The unfavourable augury, occasioned by the selection of Baron d'Austetten as a negotiator was confirmed: he declined entering upon any conference. Austria, who pretended to act as a mediatrix, declared, when her army was in readiness, that she adhered to the coalition, though she did not even require the opening of a single sitting, or the drawing up of a single protocol. This system of bad faith, and of perpetual contradictions between words and acts, was unremittingly pursued, at this period, by the Court of Vienna. The war was resumed. The brilliant victory gained by the Emperor at Dresden, on the 27th of August, 1813, over the army commanded by the three Sovereigns, was immediately followed by the disasters which Macdonald, through his ill-concerted manœuvres, brought upon himself in Silesia, and by the destruction of Vandamme's force in Bohemia. However, the superiority was still on

the side of the French army, which supported itself on three points, viz: Torgau, Wittemberg, and Magdeburgh. Denmark had concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, and her contingent augmented the army of Hamburgh.

In October, the Emperor quitted Dresden to proceed to Magdeburgh, by the left bank of the Elbe, in order to deceive the enemy. His intention was to recross the Elbe at Wittemberg and to march on Berlin. Several corps of the army had already arrived at Wittemberg, and the enemy's bridges at Dessau had been destroyed, when a letter from the King of Wurttemberg informed the Emperor that the King of Bavaria had suddenly gone over to the enemy; and that, without any declaration of war or any previous intimation, the Austrian and Bavarian forces, cantoned on the banks of the Inn, had formed themselves into one camp; that these forces, amounting to 80,000, under the orders of General Wrede, were marching on the Rhine; that he (the King of Wurtemberg), seeing the impossibility of his opposing this united force, had been obliged to add his contingent to it. The letter farther added that 100,000 men would soon surround Mentz, the Bavarians having made common cause with Austria. Upon receiving this unexpected intelligence, the Emperor found himself compelled to change the plan of the campaign which he had projected two months previously, and in pursuance

of which he had disposed of the fortresses and magazines. This plan had for its object to drive the Allies between the Elbe and the Saale; and, under the protection of the fortresses and magazines of Torgau, Wittemberg, Magdeburgh, and Hamburgh, to establish the seat of war between the Elbe and the Oder, (the French army being at that time in possession of the forts of Glogau, Custrin, and Stettin), and, according as circumstances might suggest, to raise the blockades from the fortresses of the Vistula, Dantzic, Thorn, and Modlin. It was anticipated that the success of this vast plan would have been the means of breaking up the coalition, and that, in consequence, all the German Princes would have been confirmed in their allegiance and their alliance with France. It was hoped that Bavaria would have delayed for a fortnight to change sides, and then it was certain that she would not have changed at all. The armies met on the plains of Leipsic, on the 16th of October. The French were victorious: the Austrians were beaten and driven from all their positions; and Count Meerfeld, who commanded one of the Austrian corps, was made prisoner. On the 18th, notwithstanding the check sustained by the Duke of Ragusa on the 16th, victory was still on the side of the French, when the whole of the Saxon army, with a battery of sixty guns, occupying one of the most important positions of the line, passed over to the enemy,

and turned its artillery on the French ranks. Such unlooked-for treachery was likely to cause the destruction of the French army, and to transfer all the glory of the day to the Allies. The Emperor galloped forward with half his guard, repulsed the Swedes and Saxons, and drove them from their positions. This day (the 18th) was now ended : the enemy made a retrograde movement along the whole of his line, and bivouacked in the rear of the field of battle, which remained in the possession of the French. In the night the French army made a movement, in order to take its position behind the Elster, and thus to be in direct communication with Erfurt, whence were expected the convoys of ammunition that were so much wanted. In the engagements of the 16th and 18th, the French army had fired more than 150,000 discharges of cannon. The treason of several of the German corps of the Confederation, who were seduced by the example of the Saxons on the preceding day, the destruction of the bridge of Leipsic, which was blown up by mistake, occasioned the French army, though victorious, to experience the losses which usually result from the most disastrous engagements. The French recrossed the Saale by the bridge of Weissenfeld : they intended to rally their forces, and await the arrival of the ammunition from Erfurt, which had abundant supplies. Intelligence was now received of the Austro-Bavarian army,

which by forced marches had reached the Maine. It was necessary therefore to repair thither, in order to come up with the Bavarians; and on the 30th of October the French fell in with them, ranged in order of battle before Hanau and intercepting the Frankfort high-road. The Bavarian force, though numerous and occupying fine positions, was completely routed, and driven beyond Hanau, which was in the possession of Count Bertrand. General Wrede was wounded. The French forces continued their movement with the view of falling back behind the Rhine, and they re-crossed the river on the 2nd of November. A parley ensued: Baron de Saint-Aignan repaired to Frankfort, where he had conferences with Counts Metternich and Nesselrode and Lord Aberdeen, and he arrived at Paris with proposals for peace on the following bases:—That the Emperor Napoleon should renounce the Protectorate of the Confederation of the Rhine, Poland, and the departments of the Elbe; but that France should retain her boundaries of the Alps and the Rhine, together with the possession of Holland, and that a frontier line in Italy should be determined upon, for separating France from the States of the House of Austria. The Emperor agreed to these bases; but the Congress of Frankfort, like that of Prague, was merely a stratagem designed in the hope that France would reject the terms which were proposed. It was

wished to have a new subject for a manifesto to operate on the public mind; for at the moment when these conciliatory propositions were made, the Allied army was violating the neutrality of the cantons, and entering Switzerland. However, the Allies at last developed their real intentions; they named Chatillon-sur-Seine, in Burgundy, as the seat of the Congress. The battles of Champ-Aubert, Montmirail, and Montereau, destroyed the armies of Blucher and Wittgenstein. No negotiations took place at Chatillon; but the coalesced powers presented an *ultimatum*, the conditions of which were as follows:

1st, That France should surrender the whole of Italy, Belgium, Holland, and the departments of the Rhine; 2nd, that France should return to her limits as they existed previously to 1792. The Emperor rejected this *ultimatum*. He consented to sacrifice Holland and Italy to the circumstances in which France was then placed; but he refused to resign the limits of the Alps and the Rhine, or to surrender Belgium, and particularly Antwerp. Treason secured the triumph of the Allies, notwithstanding the victories of Arcis and Saint-Dizier. Hitherto the Allies had intimated no design of interfering in the internal affairs of France: this is proved by the *ultimatum* of Chatillon, signed by England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. At length, however, some of the returned emigrants, excited by the presence of

the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian armies, in whose ranks they had long borne arms; imagined that the moment had arrived in which their dreams were to be realized: some mounted the white cockade, and others displayed the cross of Saint-Louis. This conduct was disapproved by the Allied Sovereigns; and it was even censured by Wellington at Bourdeaux, though in reality he secretly favoured all who endeavoured to raise the ensigns of the House of Bourbon. In the transactions which detached Prussia from her alliance with France, and bound her to Russia by the treaty of Kalisch; in the treaty which united Austria with the coalition; in the diplomatic proceedings public and private, which took place down to the treaty of Chatillon; and even in that which was made in France, in 1814, the Allies never made any reference to the Bourbons.

The VIIth, VIIIth, and IXth Chapters shew that the Bourbons after their return ought to have commenced a fifth dynasty, and not to have endeavoured to continue the third. The first course would have rendered all easy, the second has involved every thing in difficulty.

The Xth Chapter closes with a passage of a few lines which forcibly describes the magical effect of the Emperor's return on the 20th of March. These last chapters contain the most nervous and energetic writing, but the applications are direct, and indeed often personal. I have suppressed

the details because I wish not to afford any ground for my being accused of bringing forward a hostile statement. Time, which modifies all things, will render this work merely an historical document, which is the only light in which I wish it to be considered here, as well, indeed, as all works of a similar nature that I may think it necessary to quote. I have written in France and other countries, under different laws and circumstances, and I have always found the liberty of the press existing.

I hope to experience its influence on the present occasion, although my subject be one of a most delicate nature. I now look forward to the speedy termination of my voyage; the port is within sight, and I hope to reach it safely, in spite of all the shoals I may encounter.

My domestic affairs.—The Emperor's views in his munificence.

9th—10th. The Emperor passed a bad night. He made me be called early in the morning. When I went to him, he told me that he was half dead, that he had had no rest, and was feverish. He has continued very ill for these two days, and has reclined almost constantly on his couch, which in the evenings is drawn near the fire. He has been unable to eat, and has drunk nothing but warm lemonade. I have been in continual

attendance on him during these two days; he has enjoyed a little sleep at intervals, and the rest of the time he has spent in conversing with me upon various subjects. He spoke of the expense of giving parties in Paris; and passing from that subject to my domestic affairs, he expressed a wish that I should make him acquainted with the minutest details on that point.

I told him that my income had amounted to only 20,000 francs a year, 15,000 of which were derived from my own property, and 5,000 from my salary as a counsellor of state. On hearing this he exclaimed: "You must have been mad! How could you venture to approach the Tuileries with so straitened an income? The expenses of attending the court were enormous!"—"Sire," I replied, "I contrived to keep up my dignity as well as the rest: and yet I never solicited any thing from your Majesty." The Emperor observed, "I do not say you did; but you must have been ruined in less than four or five years."—"No, Sire," I rejoined, "I had been an emigrant during the greater part of my life; I had lived amidst privations, and with a few exceptions I still subjected myself to them. It is true that in spite of all my economy I ran through 7 or 8000 francs of my capital every year. But I calculated thus:—it was well known that every person about you must, by dint of zeal and attention to their duties,

“ sooner or later, attract your notice, and that
“ he who once gained your favour, might con-
“ sider his fortune made. I had still four or five
“ years left to try this chance; at the expiration
“ of which, if fortune did not smile on me, I was
“ determined to renounce the illusions of the
“ world, and to retire from the capital with an in-
“ come of ten or twelve thousand livres; poor
“ enough, to be sure, but, nevertheless, richer than
“ ever I had been in Paris.”—“ Well,” said the
Emperor, “ your scheme was not a bad one, and
“ the moment had just arrived when you would
“ have been indemnified for all your losses. I was
“ just about to do something for you, and it was
“ wholly your own fault that you did not make
“ a more rapid and brilliant fortune. I believe I
“ have told you before, that you did not know
“ how to avail yourself of favourable opportunities
“ for securing your own advancement.”

This conversation led us to speak of the enormous sums which the Emperor had lavished on the persons about him, and, gradually becoming animated, he said :—“ It would be difficult to
“ estimate all that I bestowed in this way. I
“ might, on more than one occasion, have been
“ accused of profuseness, and I am grieved to see
“ that it has been of little use in any respect.
“ There must certainly have been some fatality
“ on my part, or some essential defect in the
“ individuals whom I favoured. What a diffi-

“ culty was I placed in! It cannot be believed
“ that my extravagance was caused by personal
“ vanity. To act the part of an Asiatic monarch
“ was not a thing to my taste. I was not actu-
“ ated either by vanity or caprice; every thing
“ was with me a matter of calculation. Though
“ certain individuals might be favourites with
“ me, yet I did not lavish my bounty on them
“ merely because I liked them: I wished to
“ found, through them, great families, who might
“ form rallying points in great national crises.
“ The great officers of my household, as well as
“ all my ministers, independently of their enor-
“ mous salaries, often received from me handsome
“ gratifications,—sometimes complete services of
“ plate, &c. What was my object in this pro-
“ fuseness? I required that they should maintain
“ elegant establishments, give grand dinners and
“ brilliant balls!—And why did I wish this?
“ In order to amalgamate parties, to form new
“ unions, to smooth down old asperities, and to
“ give a character to French society and manners.
“ If I conceived good ideas, they miscarried in
“ the execution: for instance, none of my chief
“ courtiers ever kept up a suitable establish-
“ ment. If they gave dinners, they invited only
“ their party friends; and when I attended their
“ expensive balls, whom did I find there? All
“ the Court of the Tuileries: not a new face;
“ not one of those who were offended at the new

“ system—those sullen malcontents, whom a little
“ honey would have brought back to the hive.
“ They could not enter into my views, or did not
“ wish to do so. In vain I expressed displeasure,
“ intreated and commanded: things still went
“ on in the same way. I could not be every-
“ where at once, and they knew that;—and yet
“ it was affirmed that I ruled with a rod of iron.
“ How, then, must things go under gentle sove-
“ reigns?”

*Removal of the Emperor's bed.—Anecdote of a Gascon
soldier.—The Guards of the Eagle.*

11th.—The Emperor continued unwell. I found him very low-spirited. He had ordered the situation of his bed to be changed—that bed, so long the constant companion of his victories, was now a couch of sickness. He complained that it was too small for him, that he could hardly turn himself in it; but his chamber would not have afforded room for a longer one. He ordered the camp-bed to be carried into his cabinet, and placed beside a couch; so that the two combined formed a bed of tolerable size. To what an extremity is he reduced! The Emperor stretched himself on his sofa, and entered into conversation, which revived him a little. Speaking of his accession to the Consulship, and of the dreadful disorders which he found existing in all the branches of the

public service, he said that he had been compelled to adopt numerous measures of reform, which caused a great outcry, but which had not a little contributed to strengthen the bonds of society. These measures extended to the army, among the officers, and even among the generals, who, he said, had become such, Heaven knows how. Here I took the liberty to relate an anecdote which had at one time afforded great amusement to the circle in which I moved. One of my friends, (who was as dissatisfied with the then existing government as I was myself,) travelling in one of the small Versailles diligences with a soldier of the guard, maliciously excited him to express his opinions. The man complained that every thing went wrong, because it was required that a soldier should know how to read and write before he could be advanced from the ranks. "So you see," he exclaimed, "the *tic* " *has returned again.*"* This phrase pleased us, and was often repeated among us. "Well," observed the Emperor, "what would your " soldier have said when I created the Guards " of the Eagle? That measure would, doubt- " less, have re-established me in his good " opinion. I appointed two sub-officers to " be the special guards of the eagle in every " regiment, one of whom was placed on either

* *Tic*, is the French term for any bad habit.

“ side of the standard ; and lest their ardour in
“ the midst of the conflict might cause them to
“ lose sight of the only object which they ought
“ to have in view, namely, the preservation of the
“ eagle, they were prohibited from using the
“ sabre or the sword : their only arms were a
“ few braces of pistols ; their only duty was
“ coolly to blow out the brains of the enemy
“ who might attempt to lay hands on the eagle.
“ But, before a man could obtain this post, he
“ was required to prove that he could neither
“ read nor write, and of course you guess the rea-
“ son why.” “ No, Sire.” “ Why, simpleton !
“ Every man who has received education is sure
“ to rise in the army, but the soldier who has
“ not these advantages, never attains advance-
“ ment except by dint of courage and extraordi-
“ nary circumstances,”* &c.

As I was in the humour for gossiping, I related

* At the moment of submitting the present publication to press, I happened by chance to mention the circumstance stated above to two or three military men, who told me that they were not aware of the institution of the guards alluded to by the Emperor, without however pledging themselves that none such existed. I cannot take upon me to decide whether these individuals were ignorant of the fact, or whether I was myself mistaken in supposing the Emperor to have stated that he had actually done that which he merely declared his intention of doing. Such an error is, after all, but too probable, and I am far from wishing it to be supposed, that I have not committed many such errors. I have been careful to make known the

another anecdote, which had also produced merriment in the saloons of Paris. It was said that a regiment having lost its eagle, Napoleon harangued the men on the subject, and expressed great indignation at the dishonour they had brought upon themselves by suffering their eagle to be taken. "But we tricked the enemy," exclaimed a Gascon soldier, "they have only got the staff, for here is the *cuckoo* in my pocket;" and he produced the eagle. The Emperor laughed and said, "Well, I could not venture to affirm that this circumstance, or something very like it, did not actually take place. My soldiers were very much at their ease and made very free with me; often addressing me familiarly by the pronoun *thou*."

I mentioned having heard that on the eve of the battle of Jena, or some other great engagement, as Napoleon was passing a particular station, accompanied by a very small escort, a soldier refused to let him pass, and, growing angry when the Emperor insisted on advancing, swore that he should not pass even though he were the *Little Corporal* himself. When the soldier ascertained that it was really the Little Corporal, he was not at all disconcerted. The Emperor observed, "That

nature of my materials, and the manner in which they have been collected, in order that the reader may be on his guard against mistakes; and the same reason induces me so frequently to allude to this subject.

“ was because he felt the conviction of having
“ done his duty; and indeed the fact is, that I
“ passed for a terrible tyrant in the saloons, and
“ even among the officers of the army; but
“ not among the soldiers: they possessed the
“ instinct of truth and sympathy, they knew me
“ to be their protector, and, in case of need, their
“ avenger.”

*The Emperor continues unwell. — Horrible Provisions,
execrable Wine, &c.*

12th.—To-day the Emperor, although no better than he had been for some days past, determined, as he said, to nurse himself no longer. He dressed and repaired to the drawing-room, where he dictated, for two or three hours, to one of his suite. He had eaten nothing for three days: he had not yet been relieved by the crisis which he expected, and which is usually produced by the singular regimen which he prescribes to himself. He continued drinking warm lemonade. This circumstance led him to inquire how long a person might live without eating, and how far drink might supply the place of solid food. He sent for the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, in which he met with some very curious facts: for instance, he found that a woman had existed for fifty days without solid food, and drinking only twice. Another instance was mentioned of a person who had lived twenty days upon water alone.

Somebody observed, in reference to this subject, that Charles XII, out of pure contradiction to the opinions of the individuals who were round him, had abstained from eating for the space of five or six days, at the expiration of which, however, he devoured a turkey and a leg of mutton, at the hazard of bursting. Napoleon laughed at this anecdote, and assured us that he felt no wish to run to such extremes, however attractive the model might be in other respects.

The Emperor played a game at piquet with Madame de Montholon. The Grand Marshal having entered, he left off playing, and asked him how he thought he looked. Bertrand replied, "Only rather yellow;" which was indeed the case. The Emperor rose good-humouredly, and pursued Bertrand into the saloon, in order to catch him by the ear, exclaiming, "Rather yellow, indeed! Do you intend to insult me, Grand Marshal? Do you mean to say that 'I am bilious, morose, atrabilarious, passionate, unjust, tyrannical! Let me catch hold of your ear, and I will take my revenge.'"

The dinner-hour arrived, and the Emperor for some time was undecided whether he would sit down to table with us, or dine alone in his own room. He decided upon the latter plan, lest, as he said, he should be tempted to imitate Charles XII, if he sat at the great table: but he would have found it difficult to do that. He

returned while we were at dinner, and, from the scanty way in which our table was served, he said he really pitied us, for in fact we had scarcely any thing to eat. This circumstance induced the Emperor to resort to a painful extremity : he instantly gave orders that a portion of his plate should be sold every month, to supply what was necessary for our table. The worst thing connected with our wretched dinner was the wine, which had for some days been execrable, and had made us all unwell. We were obliged to send for some to the camp, in the hope that that which had been furnished to us would be changed, as we could not drink it.

In course of a conversation which took place respecting the wine, the Emperor stated that he had received a great number of instructions and directions from chemists and physicians, all of whom had concurred in declaring that wine and coffee were the two things respecting which it was most necessary he should be on his guard. Every professional man had cautioned him to reject both wine and coffee if he experienced any unpleasant flavour in them. Wine, in particular, he was advised to abstain from, if he found any thing *uncommon* in the taste of it. He had always been in the habit of getting his wine from Chambertin, and had therefore, seldom occasion to find fault with it ; but the case is different now, if he had refused wine whenever he found any thing

uncommon in it, he must have abstained from it for a considerable time past.

*Criticism on Prince Lucien's poem of Charlemagne:—
Homer.*

13th.—The weather is very bad; and it has continued so for three weeks or a month. The Emperor sent for me before one o'clock: he was in his saloon; our Amphitryon had paid me a visit, and I took him to the Emperor, who spoke to him on matters of a private and personal nature.

Napoleon is much altered in his looks.—To-day he wished to set to work. I sent for my son, and he went over the chapters relating to the Pope and Tagliamento. He continued thus employed until five o'clock. He was very low-spirited, and appeared to be suffering much; he retired, saying he would try to eat a little.

Two ships came within sight, one was supposed to be the Eurydice, which was every moment expected to arrive from Europe, having touched at the Cape: they proved to be, however, one of the Company's ships and another vessel that was accidentally passing the island.

The Emperor came to us while we were at dinner; he said he had eaten enough for four persons, and that this had quite restored him.

He wanted something to read, and looked over his brother Lucien's poem of Charle-

magne. He analysed the first canto, and afterwards glanced over a few others: he then examined the subject and the plan of the work, &c. "How much labour, ingenuity and time," he observed, "have been thrown away upon this book; what a wreck of judgment and taste! "Here are twenty thousand verses, some of which may be good, for aught I know; but they are destitute of interest, design, or effect. "It might have been regarded as a compulsory task, had it been written by a professed author. "Why did not Lucien, with all his good sense, consider that Voltaire, master as he was of the French language and the art of poetry, failed in a similar attempt, though that attempt was made in Paris, in the midst of the sanctuary. "How could Lucien suppose it was possible to write a French poem when living at a distance from the French capital? How could he pretend to introduce a new metre? He has written a history in verse, and not an epic poem. "An epic poem should not be the history of a man, but of a passion or an event. And, then, what a subject has Lucien chosen! What barbarous names has he introduced! Does he think he has succeeded in raising up the religion which he conceived to be fallen? Is his poem intended as a work of re-action? It certainly bears the stamp of the soil on which it was written: it is full of prayers, priests, the

“temporal authority of the Popes, &c. How
“could he think of devoting twenty thousand
“lines to absurdities which do not belong to
“the present age, to prejudices which he could
“not enter into, and opinions which he could
“not entertain. What a misapplication of
“talent! He might undoubtedly have produced
“something more creditable to himself; for
“he possesses judgment, facility, and industry.
“He was in Rome amidst the richest materials,
“and with the means of satisfying the deepest
“research. He understands the Italian language;
“and as we have no good history of Italy, he
“might have written one. His talent, his situa-
“tion, his knowledge of affairs, his rank, might
“have enabled him to produce an excellent classic
“work. It would have been a valuable acqui-
“sition to the literary world, and would have con-
“ferred honour on its author. But what is Char-
“lemagne? What reputation will it gain? It will
“be buried in the dust of libraries, and its author
“will obtain at most a few scanty and perhaps
“ridiculous notices in biographical dictionaries.
“If Lucien could not resist the temptation of
“scribbling verses, he should have prepared a
“splendid manuscript, embellished with elegant
“designs and superb binding, with which he
“might now and then have gratified the eyes of
“the ladies, occasionally allowing a few quotations
“from it to creep into publicity; and finally he

"should have left it to his heirs with a severe prohibition against submitting it to the press." "One might then have been able to understand his taste."

He laid the work aside, and said: "Let us turn to the Iliad." My son went to fetch it, and the Emperor read a few cantos, stopping at various passages, in order, as he said, to admire them at his ease. His observations were copious and remarkable. He was so deeply interested in what he read, that it was half-past twelve before he retired to rest.

*Scarcity of provisions.—Ridiculous allowance of wine.—
Napoleon's return from Elba.*

14th.—The terrible state of the weather still continued, and confined us to our miserable huts. We are all indisposed.

The Emperor dictated during a part of the day, and he felt himself much better.

At dinner we had literally scarcely any thing to eat. The Governor continued his successive reductions. The Emperor ordered some additional provisions to be purchased and paid for out of the produce of the sale of his plate.

The Governor intimated that the allowance of wine should continue fixed at one bottle for each individual, the Emperor included. Will it be credited? *One bottle for a mother and her children;* these were the words used in the note.

The Emperor retired to his own apartment, and

sent for me to attend him. "I am not inclined
"to sleep," said he, "and I sent for you to
"help me to keep my vigil; let us have a little
"chat together." The turn of the conversation
led us to speak of the Island of Elba, of the
Emperor's occupations, sensations, and opinions
while he continued there; finally, his return to
France, and the brilliant success which at-
tended him, and which, he said, he never for a
moment doubted. Many observations were re-
peated, which I have already noted down at dif-
ferent times. At one moment he said: "They
"may explain this as they will; but I assure you,
"I never entertained any direct or personal ha-
"tred of those whose power I subverted. To me
"it was merely a political contest: I was asto-
"nished myself to find my heart free of animosity,
"and, I may add, animated by good will towards
"my enemies. You saw how I released the Duke
"d'Angoulême; and I would have done the
"same by the King, and even have granted him
"an asylum of his own choosing. The triumph
"of the cause in no way depended on his person,
"and I respected his age and his misfortunes.
"Perhaps also I felt grateful for a certain degree
"of consideration which he in particular had ob-
"served towards me. It is true, that at the mo-
"ment to which I am now alluding, he had, I
"believe, outlawed me and set a price upon my
"head; but I looked upon all this as belonging
"to the *manifesto* style. The same kind of de-

“nunciations were also issued by the Austrian government, without, however, giving me much uneasiness; though I must confess that my dear father-in-law was rather too severe on the husband of his beloved daughter.”

Since I have once more had occasion to mention the Emperor's return from the Island of Elba, this is, perhaps, the proper place to fulfil the promise I made in volumes 1st and 2d, of giving a narrative of the circumstances connected with that extraordinary event. Should the reader inquire the cause of this transposition, I reply that I considered the subject in itself as very delicate, and I had not, in the early part of my Journal, given those proofs of its real spirit which were necessary to banish every suspicion of my being actuated by malevolent motives. Now, however, every one must be convinced that my statements are purely philosophic, moral, and historical; and that, therefore, the task of correcting, or refuting any errors they contain, must be consigned to the historian and the critic. The account of Napoleon's return from Elba is contained in the journals and publications of every country. My narrative, therefore, cannot be expected to present much novelty, except that it was collected from the mouth of Napoleon. I here combine together the statements that fell from him at different times.

Napoleon was residing at the Island of Elba,

on the faith of treaties, when he learned that at the Congress of Vienna some idea was entertained of transporting him from Europe. None of the articles of the treaty of Fontainebleau were fulfilled. The public papers informed him of the state of feeling in France, and he accordingly formed his determination. He kept the secret until the last moment* ; and, under one pretence or another, means were found for making the requisite preparations. It was not until they were all on board that the troops first conceived a suspicion of the Emperor's purpose: a thousand or twelve hundred men had set sail to regain possession of an empire containing a population of thirty millions!

There were nearly five or six hundred men on board the brig in which Napoleon embarked; this was as many as the crew of a seventy-four.

* I must take this opportunity of correcting an error which has occasioned considerable pain to an individual whom I greatly esteem. In the second part of this Journal it is mentioned that *eight days* before the Emperor quitted Elba, General Drouot communicated his intentions to the Princess Borghese, &c. General Drouot, however, affirms that he was not honoured with the Emperor's confidence until the *very last moment*, and that consequently he could not have divulged the secret at the time alluded to. General Drouot must of all others be the best informed, as well as most interested, with regard to these facts; for my own part I have only to observe, that in this instance I merely noted down a current report, which was repeated without any ill design, and which had never been contradicted.

They fell in with a French brig of war, with which they spoke. It was asserted that the captain of the French brig recognized them, and at parting exclaimed three times, "*A good voyage to you!*" At all events, the officer who commanded the Emperor's vessel proposed to pursue and capture the brig. The Emperor rejected the idea as absurd; such a proceeding could only have been excusable, had necessity demanded it. "Why," said he, "should I introduce this new incident into my plan? What advantage should I derive from its success? To what risks would its failure expose me!"

After the check they experienced on landing, by the capture of twenty men who had been sent to summon Antibes, a variety of opinions was advanced, and urged with some warmth. Some proposed that they should make immediately an attack and carry Antibes, in order to obviate the evil consequences which might ensue from the resistance of that place and the imprisonment of the twenty men. The Emperor replied, that the taking of Antibes would be no step towards the conquest of France; that, during the brief interval that would be occupied in the execution of that project, a general alarm would be raised throughout the country; and that obstacles would be opposed to them in the only course which it was expedient they should pursue. He added, that time was valuable; and that the ill

consequences of the affair of Antibes might be effectually obviated, by marching forward with sufficient speed to anticipate the news. An officer of the guard indirectly hinted that it was not right thus to abandon the twenty men who had been made prisoners; but the Emperor merely observed that he had formed a poor idea of the magnitude of the enterprise; that, if half of his followers were in the same situation, he would not scruple to abandon them in the same manner; and that if they were all made prisoners, he would march forward alone*.

A few hours before nightfall, he landed at the gulf of Juan, where he bivouacked. Soon after, a postilion in splendid livery was conducted to him. It turned out that this man had formerly been in the Imperial household. He had been a domestic of the Empress Josephine, and was now in the service of the Prince of Monaco, who himself had been equerry to the Empress. The postilion, on being questioned by the Emperor, informed him, after expressing his great astonishment at finding him there, that he had just come from Paris, and that he was sure he would every

* It must not, however, be supposed that he shewed any unfeeling disregard of these men; for he directed the war commissioner, Charles Vautier, who was with him, to repair with all haste to Antibes, and to release the prisoners by carrying the garrison. When Vautier set out, he several times called after him, "Take care you do not get yourself made prisoner too."

where he joyfully greeted. He affirmed that all along the road, as far as Avignon, he had heard nothing but regret for the Emperor's absence; that his name was publicly echoed from mouth to mouth; and that, when once fairly through Provence, he would find the whole population ready to rally round him. The man added, that his splendid livery had frequently rendered him the object of odium and insult. This was the testimony of one of the common class of society: it was very gratifying to the Emperor, and entirely corresponded with his expectations. The Prince of Monaco himself, on being presented to Napoleon, was less explicit. Napoleon refrained from questioning him on political matters: there were persons present, and he did not wish to incur the risk of eliciting any detail which might create unfavourable impressions on those about him. The conversation therefore assumed a lively character, and turned entirely on the ladies of the Imperial court of the Tuileries, of whom Napoleon made the minutest inquiries.

As soon as the moon had risen, which was about one or two o'clock in the morning, the bivouack broke up, and Napoleon gave orders for proceeding to Grasse. There he expected to find a road which he had planned out during the Empire. However, the design had not been executed, and he was reduced to the necessity of passing through narrow defiles filled with snow:

He therefore left behind him, in the charge of the municipality of Grasse, his carriage and two pieces of cannon, which had been brought ashore: this was termed a capture in the bulletins of the time.

The municipality of Grasse was devoted to the royalist party; but the sudden appearance of the Emperor afforded but little time for hesitation, and they came to render their submission to him. The Emperor having passed through the town, halted on a little height at some distance beyond it, where he breakfasted. He was soon surrounded by the whole population of the town; and he treated the multitude as though he had been in the midst of his court circle at the Tuileries. He heard the same sentiments and the same prayers as before he quitted France. One complained of not having received his pension, another solicited an addition to his allowance, a third represented that his cross of the legion of honour had been withheld from him, a fourth prayed for promotion, &c. A number of petitions had already been drawn up and were presented to him, just as though he had come from Paris, and was making a tour through the departments.

Some enthusiastic patriots, who were well acquainted with the state of affairs, secretly informed Napoleon, that the authorities of the place were very hostile to him; but that the mass of the people were devoted to him, and that they only

waited until his back should be turned, in order to rid themselves of the *miscreants*. "Be not too hasty," said the Emperor. "Let them have the mortification of seeing our triumph, without having any thing to reproach us with. Be tranquil and prudent."

The Emperor advanced with the rapidity of lightning. "Victory," said he, "depended on my speed. To me France was in Grenoble. That place was a hundred leagues distant, but I and my companions reached it in five days,*

* March 1st. The Emperor landed at Cannes, at the Gulf of Juan.

2d. Entered Grasse.

3d. Slept at Barême.

4th. Dined at Digne, and slept at Maligeai.

5th. Slept at Gap.

6th. Slept at Corps, and a little beyond the town on the following day, the Emperor harangued and rallied the troops of the 5th. A few hours afterwards he was joined by Labédoyère, at the head of the 7th.

7th. Arrived at Grenoble and halted.

9th. Slept at Bourgoin.

10th. Reached Lyons, where he remained three days.

13th. Slept at Macon. Ney's famous proclamation issued.

14th. Slept at Châlons.

15th. Slept at Autun.

16th. At Avalon.

17th. At Auxeres, where he remained for a day, and was joined by the Prince of the Moskowa.

20th. Arrived at Fontainebleau, at four in the morning, and entered the Tuileries at nine in the evening.

“and with what roads and what weather! I entered the city just as the Count d’Artois, warned by the telegraph, was quitting the Tuileries.”

Napoleon himself was so perfectly convinced of the state of affairs and of popular sentiment, that he knew his success in no way depended on the force he might bring with him. A piquet of gens-d’armes, he said, was all that was necessary. Every thing turned out as he had calculated: victory advanced at a charging step, and the national eagle flew from steeple to steeple, till at length it perched on the towers of Notre Dame. The Emperor, however, admitted that at first he was not without some degree of alarm and uncertainty. As he advanced, it is true the whole population enthusiastically declared themselves in his favour; but he saw no soldiers: they were all carefully removed from the places through which he passed. It was not until he arrived between Mure and Vizille, within five or six leagues from Grenoble, and on the fifth day after his embarkation, that he met the first battalion. The commanding officer refused even to hold a parley. The Emperor, without hesitation, advanced alone, and one hundred of his grenadiers marched at some distance from him, with their arms reversed. The sight of Napoleon, his costume, and in particular his grey military great coat, produced a magical effect on the soldiers, and they stood motionless. - Napoleon went straight up to a ve-

teran, whose arm was covered with *chevrons*, and very unceremoniously seizing him by the whisker, asked him whether he had the heart to fire upon his Emperor. The soldier, with his eyes moistened with tears, immediately thrust the ramrod into his musquet, to shew that it was not loaded, and exclaimed, "See, I could not have done any harm: our musquets are all unloaded." Cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* resounded on every side. Napoleon ordered the battalion to make a semi-circular movement to the right, and all marched on to Paris.

At a little distance from Grenoble, Colonel Labédoyère, at the head of his regiment, came to join the Emperor. The impulse was then confirmed, and the question was nearly decided.

The peasantry of Dauphiny lined the roadsides: they were transported and mad with joy. The first battalion, which has just been alluded to, still shewed some signs of hesitation; but thousands crowded on its rear, and by their shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* endeavoured to urge the troops to decision; while others, who were in Napoleon's rear, excited his little troop to advance, by assuring them that they would meet with success.

In a valley through which they passed, a very affecting spectacle presented itself: many communes were assembled together, accompanied by their mayors and curates. Amidst the multitude

was observed a handsome young man, a grenadier of the Guard, who had been missing since the time of Napoleon's landing, and whose disappearance had given rise to suspicion. He now advanced to throw himself at the Emperor's feet: the tears glistened in his eyes, and he supported in his arms an old man of ninety years of age, whom he presented to the Emperor:—this was his father, in quest of whom he had set off as soon as he landed in France. The Emperor, after his arrival at the Tuileries, ordered a picture to be painted on this subject.

It was night when Napoleon arrived before the walls of Grenoble: his promptitude defeated all the measures that were to have been taken to oppose him. There was no time to cut down the bridges, nor even to put the troops in motion. He found the gates of the city closed, and the colonel commanding the fortress refused to open them. "A peculiar circumstance attending this "extraordinary revolution," said the Emperor, "was that the soldiers were not wanting, to a "certain degree, in discipline and obedience to "their commanding officers: their only resistance was by inert force, of which they availed "themselves as of a right." Thus the first battalion performed all the movements that were ordered, retired and refused to communicate; but the men did not load their guns, and they would not have fired. When Napoleon arrived

before Grenoble, the whole garrison, assembled on the ramparts, shouted *Vive l'Empereur!* They shook hands with Napoleon's followers, through the wickets; but they would not open the gates, because the commander had forbidden them to do so. The Emperor found it necessary to force the gates; and this was done under the mouths of ten pieces of artillery, loaded with grape-shot. To complete this union of singular circumstances, the commander of the first battalion and the colonel, who had so openly opposed the Emperor, when asked by him whether he could depend on them, replied that he could;—that their troops had deserted them, but that they would never desert their troops; and that since the men had declared themselves for Napoleon, they also would be faithful to him. The Emperor retained these officers in his service.

In none of his battles did Napoleon ever imagine himself to be in so much danger as at his entrance into Grenoble. The soldiers seemed to turn upon him with furious gestures; for a moment it might have been supposed that they were about to tear him to pieces. But these were merely transports of love and joy. The Emperor and his horse were both borne along by the multitude; and he had scarcely had time to breathe in the inn where he alighted, when an increased tumult was heard in the streets: the inhabitants of

Grenoble came to offer him the gates of the city, since they could not present him with the keys.

“ Being once established in Grenoble,” said the Emperor, “ and having attained a positive power, I could have maintained hostilities had it been necessary to do so.”

Napoleon, at this time, very much regretted not having got his proclamations printed at the Island of Elba; but of course this could not have been done without the risk of promulgating his secret designs. He dictated his proclamations on board the brig, where every man who could write, was employed in copying them. It was found necessary to transcribe them over again during the Emperor's march to Paris, that they might be circulated on the road, so eager was the demand for them. They were then very scarce, often incorrect and even illegible; and yet the necessity of promulgating them was felt at every step, for wherever they were read they produced an immediate and powerful sensation. The events of the last twenty years have contributed in a high degree to enlighten the mass of the people; for, notwithstanding the joy they felt at the Emperor's return, they eagerly enquired what was his object. All were satisfied with the national sentiments contained in the proclamations; and the utmost joy was evinced when it was understood that Napoleon had brought no foreign troops

with him. His advance had been so rapid and his movements so unexpected, that a thousand reports had been circulated respecting the amount and nature of his forces. It was said that he was accompanied by Neapolitans, Austrians, and even Turks.

From Grenoble to Paris, Napoleon may be said to have made a triumphal march. During the four days of his stay at Lyons there were continually upwards of twenty thousand individuals assembled before his windows, and their acclamations were incessantly maintained. It would never have been supposed that the Emperor had for a moment been separated from his subjects. He signed decrees, issued orders, reviewed troops, &c.; all military corps, all public bodies, all classes of the citizens, eagerly came forward to offer him their homage and devotedness. Even the national horse guards, a corps composed of men who had shewn themselves most ardent in the Royalist cause, solicited the honour of forming his escort; but these were the only individuals whom the Emperor treated with coldness. "Gentlemen," said he, "I thank you for this offer of your services; but your conduct towards the Count d'Artois sufficiently proves how you would act by me, were fortune to forsake me. I will not subject you to this new trial." On quitting Lyons, the Count d'Artois, it is said, found only one of the guards willing to follow him to Paris. The Em-

peror, whose heart was so keenly alive to every generous sentiment, on hearing of the fidelity of this volunteer, ordered the decoration of the legion of honour to be presented to him.

At Lyons Napoleon issued orders, through the medium of proclamations, with all that precision, firmness, and confidence, which usually attend established and uninterrupted power. His conduct indicated no trace of the terrible reverses he had so lately sustained, or the great risks he had yet to encounter. If it were possible to mention every circumstance that took place, I could relate a very pleasant private anecdote indicative of the calmness of mind evinced by Napoleon, during the great crisis which was about to change the face of France and to rouse all Europe.

As soon as the Emperor quitted Lyons, he wrote to inform Ney, who, with his army, was at Lons-le-Saunier, that he must immediately march with his forces to join him. Ney, amidst the general confusion, abandoned by his troops, confounded by the Emperor's proclamations, the addresses of Dauphiny, and the defection of the garrison of Lyons, overpowered by the enthusiasm of the people of the surrounding provinces—Ney, the child of the Revolution, yielded to the general impulse, and issued his famous order of the day. But the recollection of the events of Fontenôbleau induced him to write to the Em-

peror, informing him, that in his recent conduct he had been guided principally by a view to the interests of his country; and that being convinced of having forfeited all claim to Napoleon's confidence, he solicited permission to retire from the service. The Emperor again wrote, desiring that he would immediately come and join him, and that he would receive him as he had done the day after the battle of Moscow. Ney, on presenting himself before the Emperor, was much embarrassed; and repeated, that if he had lost his confidence, he asked for nothing but to be reduced to the rank of one of his grenadiers. "Certainly," said the Emperor, "he had behaved very ill to me; but how could I forget his brilliant courage, and the many acts of heroism that had distinguished his past life! I rushed forward to embrace him, calling him the '*bravest of the brave*'—and from that moment we were reconciled."

The Emperor posted nearly all the way from Lyons to Paris. He no where experienced opposition, and no fighting took place. Literally speaking, his presence produced merely a theatrical change of scene. His advance guard was composed of the troops who happened to be before him on the road, and to whom couriers were sent forward. Thus Napoleon entered Paris, escorted by the very troops who in the morning had been sent out to oppose him.

A regiment posted at Montereau, spontaneously crossed the bridge, repaired to Melun and charged a party of the body guards who were stationed at the latter place: this circumstance, it is said, occasioned the sudden departure of the Royal family.

The Emperor frequently told us that if he had chosen, he might have brought with him to Paris two millions of peasants. On his approach the people every where rose in a mass; and he often repeated that there was no conspiracy except that of opinion.

On the day after Napoleon's arrival at the Tuileries, some one having remarked to him that his life was a succession of prodigies, but that the last surpassed all the rest, I heard him say in reply, that his only merit in this instance, consisted in having formed a just opinion of the state of affairs in France, and in having been able to penetrate into the hearts of Frenchmen. At another time he said to us, when conversing on this subject: "If I except Labédoyère, who
"flew to me with enthusiasm and affection, and
"another individual who freely rendered me im-
"portant services, nearly all the other generals
"whom I met on my route evinced hesitation
"and uncertainty; they yielded only to the im-
"pulse of their troops, if indeed they did not
"manifest a hostile feeling towards me.

"It is now clear to every one," said he, "that

“ Ney quitted Paris quite devoted to the King,
“ and that, if he turned against him a few days
“ afterwards, it was because he thought he could
“ not do otherwise.

“ I was so far from relying at all on Massena,
“ that, on my landing in France, I felt it necessary
“ to get past him with all speed; and on my
“ asking him some time after, at Paris, how he
“ would have acted, had I not left Provence so
“ precipitately as I did, he was frank enough to
“ reply that he should feel some embarrassment
“ in answering me; but that the course I had
“ pursued was, at all events, the safest, and the
“ best.

“ Saint-Cyr found himself in danger by at-
“ tempting to restrain the soldiers under his
“ command.

“ Soult confessed to me that he had conceived
“ a sincere regard for the King, so much he ad-
“ mired his government; and he would not return
“ to my service until after the *Champ de Mai*.

“ Macdonald never made his appearance, and
“ the Duke of Belluno followed the King to Ghent.
“ Thus, “ said he,” if the Bourbons have reason to
“ complain of the complete desertion of the sol-
“ diers and the people, they certainly have no
“ right to reproach with infidelity the chiefs of
“ the army, those pupils or even leaders of the
“ Revolution, who, in spite of five and twenty
“ years’ experience, proved themselves, in this

“ instance, mere children in politics. They could
“ neither be looked upon as emigrants nor pa-
“ triots !”

Napoléon seemed instinctively attached to his grand principle of acting only on masses and by masses. Both at the commencement of the enterprise, and after his landing in France, he was repeatedly urged to treat with some of the authorities, but he constantly returned the same excellent answer: “ If I still hold a place in the
“ hearts of the people, I need concern myself
“ but little about individuals in authority, and
“ if I could only rely on the latter, what service
“ could they render me in opposing the great
“ mass ?”

The following fact will shew how little communication Napoleon had maintained with the capital. On the morning of his entry into Paris, after his return from the Isle of Elba, a hundred and fifty half-pay officers quitted Saint-Denis, where they had been stationed by the Princes, and marched to the capital, bringing with them four pieces of artillery. They were met on the road by some generals, who placed themselves at their head ; and the little troop thus proceeded to the palace of the Tuileries, where they assembled together the heads of the different departments of the ministry, who all agreed to act in the name of the Emperor. Thus Paris was tranquilly governed that day by the torrent of opinion and

the transport of private affections. None of the great partisans of the Emperor, none of his former ministers having received any communication from him, dared to sign an order, or assume any responsibility. The public papers would not have appeared next day but for the zeal of private individuals, who spontaneously and without authority filled them with expressions of the feelings by which they were animated, and with the statements of passing events. In the same manner Lavalette took possession of the posts. Paris was that day without police and without government, and yet never did greater tranquillity prevail in the capital.

The Emperor entered the Tuileries about nine o'clock in the evening, with an escort of a hundred horse, just as if he had come from one of his country residences. On alighting, he was almost squeezed to death by a crowd of military officers and citizens, who thronged around him, and fairly carried him in their arms into his saloon. Here he found dinner ready, and he was just sitting down to table, when the officer who had been despatched in the morning to Vincennes to summon the fortress, arrived. He brought intelligence of the capitulation of the commandant, whose only conditions were, that he should receive a passport for himself and his family.

It is a very singular circumstance, that on the

morning after the Emperor's arrival at the Tuileries, while a messenger had gone out to procure a tri-coloured flag, one was formed at the pavilion Marsan, during the search that was made through the castle. This flag was immediately hoisted. It was quite new, and larger than the usual size. No one could guess how the standard had got into the Tuileries, and for what purpose it had been intended.

In fact, the more light there is thrown on the subject, the more evident it must be that there was no other conspiracy than that of the nature of things. Party-spirit alone can seek in the present age to raise a doubt on this point; history will have none.

A few days after Napoleon's removal to Longwood, his return from Elba became the subject of conversation among the officers who were presented to him, when one of these individuals observed that that astonishing event presented to the eyes of Europe the contrast of all that was most feeble and most sublime. The Bourbons abandoning a monarchy, and flying on the approach of a single man, who by his own individual efforts boldly undertook the conquest of an empire. "Sir," said the Emperor, "you are mistaken, you have taken a wrong view of the matter. The Bourbons were not wanting in courage; they did all they could. The Count d'Artois flew to Lyons; the Duchess d'Angou-

“leme proved herself an amazon in Bourdeaux, “and the Duke d’Angouleme offered as much “resistance as he could. If, in spite of all this, “they could attain no satisfactory object, the “fault must not be attributed to them, but to “the force of circumstances. The Bourbons, “individually, could do no more than they really “did; the contagion had spread in every direction.”

Poem of Charlemagne.—The brothers and sisters of the Emperor who have become authors.

15th.—To-day the Emperor took advantage of a short interval of fine weather to take a walk to the Company’s garden. I was alone with him. I made certain representations to him, after which, I ventured to suggest some ideas, but he rejected them as absurd. “Go, my dear Las Cases,” said he; “you are a *simpleton*. But “be not offended at the epithet,” he added, “I “do not apply it to every one; with me it is “nearly synonymous with an honest man.”

After dinner, the Emperor attempted to read a part of the poem of Charlemagne, which he had taken up yesterday evening, and again laid aside. This evening, like the two preceding ones, was divided between Charlemagne and Homer. The latter the Emperor said he read for the sake of recruiting his spirits, and he again resumed his

censure on Prince Lucien, and his admiration of Homer.

Some one present informed the Emperor that Lucien had ready for the press another poem, similar to his Charlemagne, to be entitled "Charles Martel in Corsica." It was added that he had likewise written a dozen tragedies. "Why, the devil's in him," exclaimed the Emperor.

He was then informed that his brother Louis was the author of a novel. "His work may possess spirit and grace," said he, "but it will not be without a mixture of sentimental metaphysics, and philosophic absurdity."

It was mentioned that Princess Eliza had likewise written a novel, and that even Princess Pauline had produced something in literature. "Yes," said the Emperor, "as a heroine perhaps, but not as an authoress. At that rate," continued he, "all my brothers and sisters must be authors except Caroline. The latter, indeed, in her childhood was regarded as the fool and the Cinderella of the family; but she grew up to be a very beautiful and a very clever woman."

Want of Provisions.—Gay Sophistry.—On Impossibilities.

16th.—In the morning my servant came to tell me that there was neither coffee, sugar, milk, nor bread, for breakfast. Yesterday, some hours before dinner, feeling hungry, I asked for a mouthful of bread, and was told that there was

none for me. Thus we are denied the very necessities of life. This fact will scarcely be credited, and yet I have stated nothing but the truth. The weather has now become fine. For some time the Emperor has been unable to walk out; but to-day he went into the garden, and he afterwards ordered the calash with the intention of taking his usual drive, which had been so long suspended. As we were walking about, Madame de Montholon drove away a dog that had come near her.—“You do not like dogs, Madam?” said the Emperor.—“No, Sire.”—“If you do not like dogs, you do not like fidelity; you do not like those who are attached to you; and, therefore, you are not faithful.”—“But but” said she—“But but” repeated the Emperor, “where is the error of my logic? Refute my arguments if you can!”

One of the suite having a few days ago proposed making some chemical experiments, the Emperor enquired whether he had obtained success. The other complained of not having the necessary apparatus. “A true child of the Seine,” said Napoleon, “an absolute Parisian cockney! Do you think you are still at the Tuileries? True industry does not consist in executing by known and given means; the proof of art and genius is to accomplish an object in spite of difficulties, and to find little or no *impossibility*. But what do you complain of? The want of a pestle,

“ when the spar of any chair might answer your
“ purpose? The want of a mortar? Any thing
“ is a mortar that you choose to convert to that
“ use; this table is a mortar; any pot or kettle
“ is a mortar. Do you think you are still in
“ the Rue Saint-Honoré, amidst all the shops in
“ Paris?”

The Grand Marshal here remarked that this circumstance reminded him of something that had occurred the first time he had the honour of being presented to Napoleon, and of the first words he had received from him. When Bertrand was about to leave the army of Italy, to proceed on a mission to Constantinople, the young General, perceiving that he was an officer of engineers, gave him a commission relative to that department. “ On my return,” said Bertrand, “ I came
“ up with you at a short distance from head-
“ quarters, and I informed you that I had found
“ the thing impossible. On this your Majesty,
“ whom I had addressed with great diffidence,
“ said with the most familiar air—‘ But let us
“ see how you set to work, Sir: that which
“ you found impossible may not be so to me.’
“ Accordingly,” continued Bertrand, “ when I
“ mentioned the means by which I had proposed
“ to execute what your Majesty wished, you
“ immediately substituted others. In a few mo-
“ ments I was perfectly convinced of the supe-
“ riority of your Majesty’s plans; and this cir-

“ cumstance furnished me with sentiments and
“ recollections which have since proved very
“ useful to me.”

The Emperor retired to rest early. We observe that he is very much altered in his looks, particularly since his last illness. He grows very weak, and feels fatigued after two turns round the garden.

*Statistical Calculation.—Population of the Israelites in
Egypt:*

17th—18th. The fine weather has now completely set in. The Emperor went into the garden, attended by all his suite. After walking about for a short time, he proceeded to the wood.

On his return from his walk, we all breakfasted together under the tent; and the weather being very favourable, the Emperor expressed his wish to take a drive in the calash.

About five o'clock he desired me to attend him in his closet, to assist in searching for some documents on the interior of Africa, in the neighbourhood of Egypt. This is a point on which he has been engaged for some days past, as he intends to make it the subject of some chapters in his Campaign of Egypt.

He complained of being unwell, and desired me to order some tea for him. This was some-

thing extraordinary. The Grand Marshal soon after came to take my place in writing from his dictation.

After dinner, the Emperor was engaged with the pen in his hand, in investigating the comparative production of the soils of Egypt and France. He found the production of France to be greatly inferior to that of Egypt. This calculation was made from Peuchet's "Statistical Estimates of France." The Emperor was satisfied with the result at which he had arrived; it corresponded with the opinion he had previously formed. This naturally gave rise to the consideration of several other subjects; for instance, what was the probable and possible population of Egypt in ancient times?—what might have been the population of the Israelites, if, during the short period that they remained in captivity, they had increased to the degree mentioned in Scripture? &c. The Emperor desired me to present to him next day something on this latter subject. A great deal was said on the probabilities of human life, the tables of which were also found in Peuchet's work; and on this subject the Emperor made some very ingenious, novel, and striking remarks.

I presented to the Emperor the calculation I had made on the problem which he had submitted to me on the preceding day. The result

not a little surprised him; and it furnished a subject for considerable dissertation. The following is the substance of what I presented to him.

The Israelites remained two hundred years in Egypt; during which time we may calculate on ten generations. They married early, and their marriages were very fruitful. I supposed the children of Jacob, the twelve chiefs of tribes, to be all married; I also supposed each of them to have had the same number of children, or six couples, and so on in succession. The tenth generation would then have amounted to two millions, 480,064,704 individuals. But the ninth generation and even the eighth was still in existence. Hence what an awful number of cyphers. However, an ample deduction may be made from the number of children, allowing for the mortality occasioned by accidents, disease, &c. and it will always remain a certainty that no calculation can be brought to refute the account of Moses. The Emperor amused himself for a considerable time in detecting and shewing the errors of my reasoning.

During dinner he exercised himself in English, by asking my son questions, in that language, in history and geometry. After dinner the Emperor took up the *Odyssey*, the reading of which afforded a treat to us all.

The Emperor alters visibly, and loses his Strength.—Sale of his Plate.

19th.—Napoleon spent the morning in collecting information on the sources of the Nile, from the works of several modern authors, viz. Bruce, &c. . . . I assisted him in this labour. At three o'clock he dressed and went out. The weather was tolerably fine. He ordered the calash, and then went into the wood on foot, and we walked till we came within sight of the Signal Hill. He conversed with me respecting our moral position, and the vexations which even some circumstances arising from our intimacy with him could not fail to cause him. The calash came up with us, and Monsieur and Madame Montholon were in it. The Emperor was very glad of this, as he said he did not feel strong enough to walk back to the house. He evidently grows feeble, his step becomes heavy and lagging, and his features alter. His resemblance to his brother Joseph is now striking; so much so, that, on going to meet him the other day in the garden, I could have sworn it was Joseph, until the very moment when I came close up with him. Others have remarked the likeness, as well as myself; and we have often said, that, if we believed in the *second sight* of the Scotch Highlanders, we should be inclined to expect that something extraordinary would happen to Joseph or to the Emperor.

On our return the Emperor examined a large basket full of broken plate, which was to be sent next day to the town. This was to be for the future the indispensable compliment for our monthly subsistence, in consequence of the late reductions of the Governor.

We knew that captains of the East India Company had offered as much as a hundred guineas for a single plate. This circumstance induced the Emperor to order the arms to be erased and the pieces to be broken, so as to leave no trace of the plate having belonged to him. All the dish-covers were topped with small eagles of massive metal; these were the only things he wished to save, and he had them put by. These last fragments were the objects of the wishes of every one of us; we looked upon them as relics. There was something religious, and at the same time mournful, in this feeling.

When the moment had come for breaking up this plate, it had produced a most painful emotion and real grief amongst the servants. They could not without the greatest reluctance bring themselves to apply the hammer to these objects of their veneration. This act upset all their ideas; it was to them a sacrilege, a desolation. Some of them shed tears on the occasion. After dinner the Emperor continued the *Odyssey*, and afterwards read some passages of "*Navigation*," by Esmenard, with whose poetry he was pleased.

Fresh vexation from the Governor.—Topography of Italy.

20th.—The Emperor sent to wake me before eight o'clock, to go and join him with the calash in the wood, where he was already walking with M. de Montholon, conversing about the household expenses of the establishment. The weather had at last become fine once more, it was like a delightful morning of spring. We took two turns.

We have experienced to-day a fresh and inconceivable vexation from the Governor. He has forbidden us to sell our plate, when broken up, to any other person than the one he should point out. What can have been his intention in committing this new act of injustice? To make himself more obnoxious, and to give another instance of the abuse of authority.

The Emperor breakfasted under the tent; immediately after, he dictated the relation of the Battle of Marengo to General Gourgaud. He bade me remain with them and listen. At about twelve o'clock he retired to his apartment to endeavour to rest himself.

Towards three o'clock the Emperor came into my room again. He found my son and myself engaged in comparing and looking over the account of the Battle of Arcole. He knew it was my favourite chapter, and that I called it a canto of the Iliad. He wished to read it again, and

expressed himself also pleased with it. The reader will have already seen that account in the third part of this work, where I have introduced it.

The perusal of this account of Arcole awakened the Emperor's ideas respecting what he called *that beautiful spot, Italy*. He ordered us to follow him into the drawing-room, where he dictated to us for several hours. He had caused his immense map of Italy, which covered the greatest part of the drawing-room, to be spread open on the floor, and having laid himself down upon it, he went over it on his hands and his knees, with a compass and a red pencil in his hand, comparing and measuring the distance with a long piece of string, of which one of us held one of the ends. "It is thus," said he to me, laughing at the posture in which I saw him, "that a country should be measured in order to form a correct idea of it, and lay down a good plan of a campaign." What he then dictated may serve as the basis of a most excellent piece of political geography on Italy. I here present it to my readers, observing that I have never had an opportunity of laying a fair copy of it before the Emperor, having been carried away from Longwood before this subject was definitively settled.

"NOTE. Italy is one of the finest countries of Europe. It is a peninsula bounded west, south, and east, by the Mediterranean and the Adriatic sea. On the side of the Continent, Italy is bounded

by the chain of the Alps, the highest mountains of Europe; whence flow the rivers which form the valley of the Po, and fall into the Adriatic.

“This chain of mountains separates Italy from Switzerland, Germany, and France, forming a semicircle from the north-west to the north-east. This semicircle may be considered as described from Parma taken as a centre, its left extremity passing on the mouth of the Var, the middle of it on Mount Saint-Gothard, and its right extremity on the mouth of the Isonzo. Such are the natural boundaries of the continent of Italy.

“Within these limits are the Swiss bailiwicks, the Valteline, and part of the Tyrol. All these countries are situated on the declivity of the Alps on the side of Italy, and thus form part of Italy, geographically speaking, although they do not belong to it politically. On the other hand the Duchy of Savoy, which belongs to Italy, politically speaking, forms no part of it geographically considered; since it is situated beyond the Alps, and all its rivers flow into the Rhone.

“Towards the east, Mont-Falcone, the county of Goritz, and part of Istria, have always formed part of Italy, though out of the limits of the semicircle. It is true that another natural boundary would be to follow the chain of the Alps of Carniola, which begins below Idria, and extends as far as Fiume.

“Dalmatia, the mouths of the Cataro, &c.

which have belonged to the Republic of Venice for many centuries, have always been considered as forming part of Italy; but, in a geographical point of view, they belong to Illyria: it is with them as with Savoy.

“The two great Islands of Sicily and Sardinia also form part of Italy.

“On the west, Italy is separated from France by the Var, Mounts Viso, Genevre, Cenis, Saint-Bernard, and Simplon. It is separated from Switzerland, on the north, by the Simplon and Mount Saint-Gothard: lastly, the Brenner, the pass of Tarvis and the Isonzo, separate Italy from the hereditary states of the House of Austria.

“Italy is on the confines of the French provinces of Provence and Dauphiny, and of the Austrian Provinces of Tyrol, Carinthia, Carniola, and Istria.

“The communication between France and Italy, is by crossing the Var in the neighbourhood of Nice; whence the road of Corniche leads to Genoa, and Florence, and the Col di Tende leads to Turin. Another road of communication between France and Italy, is through Mounts Genevre, Cenis, and the Little Saint-Bernard.

“Switzerland communicates with Italy by the passes of Great Saint-Bernard, of the Simplon, and of Saint-Gothard.

“Germany communicates with Italy through

the passes of the Brenner and of Tarvis, and by the various openings formed by the Isonzo.

“ The Saint-Gothard is the highest pass of the Alps. From that point the other passes become gradually fewer: thus Mount Saint-Gothard is higher than Mount Brenner; Mount Brenner is higher than the mountains of Cadore; the mountains of Cadore are higher than the pass of Tarvis, and the mountains of Carniola. On the other side, Mount Saint-Gothard is higher than the Simplon; the Simplon than Mount Saint-Bernard; Mount Saint-Bernard than Mount Cenis; and Mount Cenis than the pass of Tende. From this pass the Alps continue to lower and finally terminate at the mountains of Saint-Jaques near Savona, where the Apennines begin. The chain of the Apennines then rises, increasing in height in an inverse progression, and extends the whole length of the Peninsula, to the extremity of the kingdom of Naples. The Apennines are mountains of the second class. Part of their waters fall into the Po, the remainder flows into the Mediterranean and the Adriatic.

“ From the mouth of the Var to the mouth of the Isonzo, the diameter of the semicircle, the distance is one hundred and twenty-five leagues of twenty-five to the degree; this would give to the semi-circumference formed by the Alps, if it were regular, one hundred and eighty leagues; but on account of the sinuosities, it is computed at upwards of two hundred and thirty. Thus every

point of the Alps is distant from Parma about fifty or sixty leagues.

“From Parma to Rome the distance is eighty leagues, and from Rome to the extremity of the Basilicata, in the gulf of Tarento, ninety-five leagues, and to Reggio, situated at the extremity of the Boot, one hundred and twenty leagues. Thus, from Mount Saint-Gothard to Reggio, the distance is two hundred-and-fifty leagues.

“The fifty leagues from the north to Parma, may be considered as continental, and the remaining two hundred as forming the Peninsula, beginning at Parma. This Peninsula, in its whole extent, is about forty or fifty leagues wide; for from Leghorn to Rimini the distance is fifty leagues; from Teracini to Termoli forty leagues; from Naples to Manfredonia forty leagues; from Monte-Leone to Brindisi sixty leagues.

“From Reggio to Naples the post-map marks one hundred and seventy leagues; from Naples to Rome sixty leagues; together two hundred and thirty; from Rome to Parma ninety-two leagues; from Parma to Mount Saint-Gothard one hundred leagues, making from Saint-Gothard to Reggio, four hundred and twenty-two post leagues. Deducting a tenth from this number, there remain three hundred and eighty leagues; we have only reckoned two hundred and fifty; difference, one hundred and thirty, or one third between the astronomical distance and that

measured by the high roads, which must wind round mountains, and pass through large cities; and in the computation of which, the declivities and the difficulties of the road, and the privileges attached to some places and established by the post-masters, must be taken into consideration.

“That part of Italy which lies within the semicircle, contains five thousand square leagues. From the diameter of this semicircle, Italy extends in the shape of a boot, which measures two hundred leagues in length, and forty or fifty in breadth. This gives from Parma to the gulf of Tarènto, eight thousand square leagues; Sicily and Sardinia contain two thousand square leagues; total, fifteen thousand square leagues. Thus, nearly two thirds of Italy are situated on a continued line, surrounded on all sides by the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas.

“This singular configuration has unquestionably influenced the destinies of this beautiful country; for if the Peninsula, instead of being forty or fifty leagues wide, had been ninety or one hundred, and only half as long as it is, the central point would have been nearer to all the extremities; there would have been a greater community of interests; the nation occupying a smaller space, and not divided by great distances, would have presented a greater degree of uniformity; it would have resisted more successfully the acts which tended to parcel it; and the force

of adherence which has made France, England, and Spain, would have produced the same effect in Italy.

“The extent of coast on the Riviera di Genoa is fifty leagues; that of the Peninsula about two hundred and fifty leagues on each side; that of the base from Reggio to Tarento and beyond, one hundred leagues; which make a total of six hundred and fifty leagues for the whole extent of coasts of the Peninsula of Italy. The coasts of the States of Venice, as far as France, occupy a space of thirty leagues; the coasts of Sicily two hundred and fifty; Sardinia two hundred; the whole extent of coasts of Italy is therefore from eleven to twelve hundred leagues, that is, equal to that of the British Islands, which is also twelve hundred leagues, and nearly double that of France, which is only seven hundred leagues.

“The towns of Nice, Genoa, Leghorn, and all the small towns on the coasts of the two gulfs of Genoa are very populous. The population of Naples and of all the towns of the kingdom, that of Ancona and of all the small towns of Romagna; lastly, the population of Venice, of the coasts of Sardinia, of Cagliari, &c. the population of Palermo, Syracuse in Sicily, form together a very considerable maritime population.

“The roads or harbours of Ventimiglia, Vado, Genoa, Spezzia, Porto-Ferraio, of the Bay of

Naples, of Tarento, Ancona, Venice; those of Istria, Dalmatia, Ragusa, of the mouths of the Cataro, all belong to Italy.

“ If all these parts had been united together, into one great state, that state would have been one of the maritime powers of the first class. The hemp produced in the valley of the Po; the woods grown in the Apennines and Istria; and the iron of the island of Elba, and of the Brescian, would supply in abundance every thing that is necessary to form the *matériel* of a great naval establishment. Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, were the first maritime powers of Europe in the middle age.

“ Italy, bounded by the sea on three of its sides, has only about two hundred leagues of frontier by land, which is less than a third part of the frontier of France; and is defended in front by the strongest barriers that can be opposed to invading nations.

“ The population of Italy, including the two great islands, being from seventeen to eighteen millions, she might easily raise an army of three hundred thousand men. In the present state of agriculture in Italy, it would have been difficult for her to procure a sufficient number of horses; but in the middle age she produced many; and if the nation had always remained a military nation, it would have encouraged the breed of horses.

“ The bravery of the Italian troops at any period cannot be questioned. To prove this assertion, it is sufficient to mention Rome, and the *condottieri* of the middle age, and in our days the troops of the Cisalpine Republic, or of the Kingdom of Italy, &c.

“ Destined by her situation and the extent of her coasts to possess the dominion of the Mediterranean, Italy would have no invasion to fear but on the side of the Alps,—a frontier more easily defended than any other in Europe. About twenty forts, large and small, would be sufficient to intercept all the passes of the Alps.

“ As long as Italy was left to herself, or that the influence of Germany and of France was only auxiliary and did not master every thing, Italy was divided into three parts, which are her natural geographical divisions.

“ 1st, On the North.—The valley of the Po, which includes all the countries whose rivers flow into the Po. These countries are on a level, and can communicate one with another: they are the Belgium and Holland of Italy, and Venice is Amsterdam; they are Piedmont, Lombardy, the Legations and the Republic of Venice.

“ 2d, In the centre of the Peninsula.—On one side Tuscany and the dominions of the Pope west of the Apennines,—that is, the valley of the Arno and the Tiber: on the other side, all the countries situated east of the Apennines, between the

valley of the Po and the frontiers of the Neapolitan territory. This division contains, therefore, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Ecclesiastical States, and the Republic of Lucca.

“ 3d and last, In the South.—The kingdom of Naples, which has ever formed a distinct geographical and political division of itself.

“ In this distribution Romagna must be considered as forming part of northern Italy, because it is a plain in continuation of the plain of the Po.

“ These different countries, which form a considerable population professing the same religion, equally favoured by the advantages of a temperate climate, speaking the same language, and having the same literature, must necessarily influence one another, and finally unite into one body, as it has happened with the different kingdoms of Great Britain, the various provinces of Spain, and those of France; and as it will perhaps happen some day with those of Germany. And the Italian countries have had, and still have, more points of resemblance and community between them, than the countries alluded to.

“ If this great event were to take place, what town would become the capital of Italy? Italy, from its configuration, has no central town. Would this capital be Rome, Milan, Bologna, or Florence? Genoa and Venice could never expect it; they are situated too near the extremities.

1st. *Rome*, from the remembrances connected with her, from her present importance, and from her situation, might aspire to become once more the capital of this beautiful country. As a capital, she would be situated one hundred and thirty leagues from all the points of the frontiers formed by the Alps, on which Italy can be attacked by France or Germany: she would be one hundred leagues distant from the southern extremities of the kingdom of Naples and from the coasts of Sicily, and not quite so far from the coasts of Sardinia. Paris, the capital of France, is sixty leagues from the northern frontiers; forty leagues from the British channel (*la Manche*); one hundred leagues from the Bay of Biscay (*Golfe de Gascogne*); and one hundred and fifty leagues from the Mediterranean. The insalubrity of the air, the sterility of its environs, the want of a large port and of a harbour at a convenient distance, would be the great objections to Rome, taken as a capital.

“ 2d. If Italy terminated with the Duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Guastalla, that is, if it contained only the valley of the Po, and had no peninsula, then *Milan* would be the natural capital; though it would be a great disadvantage that that town could not have the line of the Po to defend it against invasion from Germany. But on the supposition of the union of all the States of Italy into one body, *Milan* could never become

the capital, being too near the frontiers, where an invasion might take place by land, and too far from the other extremities exposed to the same danger by sea.

“ 3d. *Bologna* would be infinitely preferable, because in case of an invasion, and of the frontiers being already forced, it would still be defended by the line of the Po, and because its geographical situation, and its canals, enable it to communicate promptly, or with little delay, with the Po, with Leghorn, Genoa, Civita-Vecchia, with the ports of Romagna, and with Ancona and Venice, and because it is much nearer to the coasts of Naples.

“ 4th. If Italy ended on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, and if part of Naples and of Sicily could come and fill up the vacant space which separates Italy from the island of Corsica, then, and then only, Florence could pretend to become the capital of Italy, because it would be in a central situation.

“ In 1796, when the French entered Italy, that fine country was divided into several states.

“ 1st. The King of Sardinia was master of the county of Nice, of the countries on the left bank of the Var, and of all the passes of the Alps, as far as the Simplon, which separated his dominions from Switzerland. Beyond the Alps he possessed the Duchy of Savoy; but this province, geographically speaking, must be considered as belonging

to France. The dominions of the King of Sardinia were divided on the east from Austrian Lombardy, by the Ticino, and bounded south by the highest summit of the Apennines, which separated them from the Republic of Genoa and the Duchy of Parma: their population, including Savoy and the county of Nice, amounted to 2,400,000 inhabitants, which, with Sardinia, formed together a population of nearly 3,000,000: they contained twelve or fifteen fortified towns; an army of 25,000 men in time of peace, and which was increased to double in time of war, by an equal number of militia. The capital was Turin, a fortified town, containing 80,000 inhabitants.

“ 2d. The Republic of Genoa was separated on the west from the county of Nice by the river Roya. On the north it was separated from the states of the King of Sardinia by the high chain of the Apennines: on the east it was divided from the Duchy of Parma by the same chain of the Apennines, and adjoined the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. On the south it is bounded by the Mediterranean. Its population amounted to 500,000 inhabitants. The town of Genoa contained 100,000 inhabitants; it was a strong town, although its fortifications occupied rather too great an extent of ground.

“ 3d. The Duchy of Parma, composed of the

Duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Guastalla, was separated from Austrian Lombardy by the Po. It was situated between the Republic of Genoa on the south-west, Piedmont on the west, and the Duchy of Modena on the east. Its population amounted to 500,000 inhabitants. The town of Parma contains 40,000 inhabitants. Parma had from about 2500 to 3000 men bearing arms.

“4th. Austrian Lombardy. It was divided from Piedmont on the west by the Ticino, a wide and rapid river; on the north from Switzerland by the Alps; on the south from the Duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Guastalla by the Po; and was bounded on the east by the Venetian States. Its population amounted to 1,100,000 inhabitants. Its capital was Milan, a town containing from 30 to 40,000 inhabitants. Lombardy possessed many fortresses, the principal of which were Mantua and the citadel of Milan.

“5th. The Republic of Venice. It was separated from Bavaria by the Tyrol; from Carinthia by the Noric Alps; and from Carniola by the Isonzo. On the south it was bounded by the Adriatic and the Po, which river separated it from the dominions of the Pope. It possessed on the other side of the Isonzo, Istria, Dalmatia, and the mouths of the Cataro; at the entrance of the Adriatic, Zante, Cephalonia, Cerigo, and Saint-Maura. Its population amounted to 3,500,000 inhabitants. Venice contained 140,000. It pos-

possessed several fortresses, such as Peschiera, Porto-Legnago and Palma-Nuovo in Italy; Zara and the mouths of the Cataro in Dalmatia. Its military establishment was upwards of 30,000 men; it had a dock-yard for maritime constructions, and a fleet of from twelve to fifteen ships of fifty-four guns, besides frigates, brigs, and other small craft.

“6th. The Duchy of Modena. A Prince of the House of Este, the last descendant of that ancient family, reigned over Modena, and possessed the Duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, which are situated between the Duchies of Parma, and of Tuscany, Lombardy, and the dominions of the Pope. The population of the Duchy of Modena amounted to 350,000 inhabitants. Modena is a town containing 20,000 inhabitants. The family of Este became extinct at the death of the old man who then reigned, and the Duchess Beatrix, who was married to one of the Archdukes, was heiress to the Duchy. Modena might have an army of 5 or 6000 men.

“7th. The dominions of the Pope. They were separated from the Republic of Venice by the Po; from the Duchy of Modena by fort Urbino; from Tuscany by the Apennines. They were bounded on the east by the Adriatic, and on the south by the kingdom of Naples. The Pope was master of the mouths of the Po, of the port and citadel of Ancona on the Adriatic, and of the port

and fortress of Civita-Vecchia in the Mediterranean. The population of his dominions consisted of 2,400,000 inhabitants; that of Rome amounted to 140,000. His army was from about 6 to 7000 men strong.

“8th. Tuscany. It was possessed by an Archduke of Austria. It was divided from the Republic of Genoa by the Republic of Lucca; from the Duchy of Modena by the Apennines; and was bounded in the west by the Mediterranean. Tuscany contained a population of 1,000,000 of inhabitants. Its capital, Florence, contained 80,000. It possessed the port of Leghorn in the Mediterranean, reckoned 6000 men bearing arms, and had three frigates.

“9th. The Republic of Lucca, lying between Tuscany and the States of the Republic of Genoa, and comprising a population of 100,000 people.

“10th, and lastly. The kingdom of Naples, bounded on the north by the dominions of the Pope, and bathed on every other side by the Mediterranean. This country was divided from Sicily, which is situated opposite to it, by a strait, only two thousand toises* wide. Its population amounted to nearly 6,000,000 inhabitants, including Naples, Sicily, and the small islands under its dependence. The city of Na-

* About two miles and a half—a French *toise* being equal to six English feet and one third:—*Eng. Ed.*

ples contained a population of 400,000 inhabitants. The King of Naples could assemble an army of 60 or 80,000 men. He possessed two seventy-fours, and some frigates.

“The whole of Italy was divided between the House of Bourbon and that of Austria. Of all the reigning families which had survived the republics of the middle age, that of Este alone remained.”

The celebrated debt of Saint-Domingo.—Inspectors of the Reviews, &c.—Plans of administration, &c.—Gaudin, Mollien, Defermont, Lacuée, &c.—Minister of the Treasury.—Minister Secretary of State.—Importance of their functions.

21st.—Admiral Malcolm called upon me to-day. He came to take leave of us all; he was to set off the next day for the Cape, and would be two months absent.

We regret the Admiral; his manners, always polite, and a kind of tacit sympathy existing between us, contrast him continually in our mind with Sir Hudson Lowe, who is so little like him.

The Admiral had seen the Emperor, who is also partial to him. They had taken together some turns in the garden, and the Admiral told me he had collected some excellent information respecting the Scheldt and the Nievendip, a maritime establishment in Holland, which was en-

tirely unknown to him, and which was founded by Napoleon.

After dinner, the conversation turned upon what the Emperor termed the celebrated debt of Saint-Domingo. It gave rise to the following curious details.—“The administrator of Saint-Domingo,” said the Emperor, “took it into his head one day to draw from the Cape, without authority, the sum of sixty millions in bills, on the treasury in Paris; which bills were all payable on the same day. France was not then, and had perhaps never been, rich enough to meet such a demand. Besides, where and by what means had the administration of Saint-Domingo acquired so much credit? The First Consul could not command any thing like it in Paris; it was as much as M. Necker could have done at the time of his greatest popularity. Be that as it may, when these bills appeared in Paris, where they arrived before the letters of advice, the First Consul was applied to from the treasury, to point out what was to be done. ‘Wait for the letters of advice,’ said he, ‘in order to learn the nature of the transaction. The treasury is like a capitalist; it possesses the same rights, and should follow the same course. These bills are not accepted, they are consequently not payable.’ However, the necessary information, and the vouchers arrived. These bills

“stated value received, but the receipts of the
“officers in charge of the chest, into whose
“hands the money had been paid, were for
“only one tenth, one fifth, one third of the
“amount of the respective bills. The trea-
“sury, therefore, would only acknowledge and
“refund the sum really and *bonâ fide* paid; and
“the bills in their tenour were declared to be
“false. This raised a great clamour, and pro-
“duced a terrible agitation amongst the mer-
“chants. A deputation waited upon the First
“Consul, who, far from endeavouring to avoid it,
“opened the business at once, and asked ‘whether
“they took him for a child, whether they thought
“he would sport thus with the purest blood of
“the people, or that he was so indifferent a
“guardian of the public interest? What he
“refused to give up,’ he said, ‘did not affect him
“personally, did not trench upon his civil list,
“but it was public property, of which he was
“the guardian, and which was the more sacred
“in his eyes on that account.’ Then addressing
“the two persons at the head of the deputation
“he said: ‘You, gentlemen, who are merchants,
“bankers, men of business, give me a positive
“answer. If one of your agents abroad were to
“draw upon you for very large sums contrary to
“your expectations and to your interests, would
“you accept, would you pay his bills?’ They
“were obliged to admit that they would not.

“ ‘Then,’ said the First Consul, ‘you, who are
“ simple proprietors, and in the right of your ma-
“ jority responsible for your own actions only, you
“ would wish to possess a right which you refuse
“ to allow to me, proprietor in the name of all;
“ and who am in that quality always a minor and
“ subject to revision! No, gentlemen, I shall
“ enjoy your privileges in the name and for the
“ benefit of all; the actual amount received
“ for your bills shall be repaid you and no
“ more. I do not ask the merchants to take the
“ bills of my agents: it is an honour, a mark of
“ credit to which I do not aspire; if the mer-
“ chants do take them, it must be at their own
“ risk and peril; I only acknowledge and con-
“ sider as sacred the acceptance of my Minister
“ of the Treasury.’ Upon this they again expos-
“ tulated; and a great deal of idle talk ensued:
“ They would be obliged, they said, to declare
“ themselves bankrupts; they had received these
“ bills for ready money; their agents abroad had
“ committed the error of taking them, through
“ respect for, and confidence in the government;
“ ‘Very well,’ said the First Consul, ‘become
“ bankrupts. But they did not,’ observed the
“ Emperor, ‘they had not received these bills for
“ ready money, and their agents had not com-
“ mitted any error.’
“ The members of the députation left the First
“ Consul, convinced in their own minds of the va-

“ lidity of his reasons; nevertheless they filled
“ Paris with their clamours, and with falsehoods,
“ in misrepresenting the affair altogether.

“ This transaction,” said the Emperor, “ and its
“ details, explain many other transactions which
“ have been much spoken of in Paris under the
“ Imperial administration.

“ The commercial world had particularly said,
“ and repeated, that this proceeding was unex-
“ ampled; that such a violation of credit was a
“ thing hitherto unheard of; but to that, the First
“ Consul replied that he would set the question
“ at rest by quoting precedents, and he rebal-
“ led to their minds the bills of Louis XIV, the liqui-
“ dations of the Regent, the company of the
“ Mississippi, the liquidations of the wars of
“ 1763, and of 1782, &c.; and proved to them
“ that what they contended to be a thing un-
“ exampled, had been the constant practice of
“ the monarchy.” From this affair the Emperor
turned to different branches of the administra-
tion. He defended the institution of the post of
Inspectors of the Reviews. “ It was only through
“ them that the actual number of men present
“ could be ascertained; through them alone
“ had this advantage been obtained, and it was
“ one of immense importance in the active
“ operations of war. And these inspectors
“ were not less useful in an administrative point
“ of view; for whatever trifling abuses might

“ exist in the details, and however numerous
“ these abuses might be, it is on a general prin-
“ ciple that such things should be considered ;
“ and, in order to estimate fairly the utility of
“ this institution, it should be asked what other
“ abuses would have taken place if it had not
“ existed ? For myself,” said Napoleon, “ I
“ must say that checking the expenditure, by
“ trying how much the total number of troops
“ ought to have cost according to their fixed
“ rates of pay, I have always found the sum
“ paid by the treasury to fall short of my esti-
“ mate. The army, therefore, cost less than it
“ ought to have cost : what result more bene-
“ ficial could be required ?”

The Emperor quoted the administration of the navy as having been the most regular and the most honest ; it had become a *chef-d'œuvre*. “ In
“ that,” said he, “ consisted the great merit of
“ *Decrès*.” The Emperor considered that France
was too large to have only one minister for the
administration of the war department. “ It
“ was,” he said, “ a task beyond the powers of
“ one man. Paris had been made the centre of
“ all decisions, contracts, supplies, and organi-
“ zations ; whilst the correspondents of the mi-
“ nister had been subdivided amongst a number
“ of persons equal to the number of regiments
“ and corps. The contrary ought to have been
“ the case ; the correspondences should have

“ been centered, and the resources subdivided,
“ by raising them on the spot where they were
“ required. I had long meditated a plan to
“ establish in France twenty or twenty-five
“ military districts, which would have composed
“ so many armies. There would have been no
“ more than that number of accountants; these
“ would have been twenty under-ministers, for
“ which it would have been necessary to find
“ twenty honest men. The minister would have
“ had only twenty correspondents; he would
“ have centered the whole and conducted the
“ business with celerity and despatch, &c.

“ Messieurs Gaudin and Mollien,” said the
Emperor, “ were of opinion that it was necessary
“ that public functionaries, into whose hands the
“ public money was received, public financiers,
“ and contractors, should have very large for-
“ tunes, that they should have it in their power
“ to make considerable profits, and openly avow
“ them, in such a manner as to retain a degree of
“ consideration which they might be careful not
“ to endanger; and a reputation of honour, which
“ they might wish not to compromise. This
“ could not be otherwise, in order to obtain
“ from them support, service, and credit in case
“ of need.

“ Another set of men, Defermonts, Laquéé, and
“ Marbois, thought, on the contrary, that it was
“ impossible to be too exact, too saving, and too

“ strict. For my own part, I was inclined to be
“ of the opinion of the first, considering the views
“ of the last to be narrow, and such as were ap-
“ plicable to a regiment, but not to an army; to
“ the expenses of a private household, but not
“ to the expediture of a great empire. I called
“ them the Puritans and the Jansenists of the
“ profession.”

The Emperor observed that the minister of the treasury, and the minister secretary of state, were two of his institutions on which he most congratulated himself, and from which he had derived the greatest assistance. “ The minister of
“ the treasury concentrated all the resources, and
“ controuled all the expenses of the empire.
“ From the minister secretary of state all acts
“ emanated. He was the minister of ministers,
“ imparting life to all intermediate acts; the
“ grand notary of the empire, signing and au-
“ thenticating all documents. Through the first
“ I knew, at every moment, the state of my
“ affairs; and through the second I made known
“ my decisions and my will in all directions and
“ every where. So that, with my minister of the
“ treasury and my minister secretary of state
“ alone, and half-a-dozen clerks, I would have
“ undertaken to govern the empire from the
“ remotest parts of Illyria, or from the banks
“ of the Niemen, with as much facility as in
“ my capital.”

The Emperor could not conceive how affairs could go on with the four or five secretaries of state of our kings. "And indeed how did they go on?" said he. "Each imagined, executed, and controuled his own operations. They might act in direct opposition one to another; for as the kings only affixed their sign on the margin of the plans proposed, or authenticated only the rough draft of their *ordinances*, the secretaries of state could fill them up, or act as they pleased without fear of any great responsibility. Add to this that the secretaries of state had the *griffe**, a contrivance, which they wanted to make me adopt, but which I rejected as a tool appropriated to the *Rois faineans*. Amongst these ministers, some might have money for which they had no employment, and others might be unable to proceed for want of a farthing. There was no common centre to combine their movements, provide for their wants, and direct the execution of their measures."

The Emperor said that a minister secretary of state was exactly suited for kings without talents, but vain, who would want the assistance of a prime minister and not like to own it. "Had my minister secretary of state been made president of the council of state," said he, "he would have been from that moment a real

* A kind of seal on which a signature is engraved.

“ prime minister, in the fullest acceptation of the
“ term ; for he would have carried his plans to
“ the council of state to have them digested into
“ laws, and would have signed for the Prince.
“ There can be no doubt that with the manners
“ and habits of the first race of our kings, or
“ with princes like them, my minister secre-
“ tary of state would have become in a very
“ short time a *Mayor of the Palace* (*Maire de*
“ *Palais.*)”

Revision and recasting of the Chapters on the Army of Italy.

22d.—The Emperor resumed his researches respecting Egypt. He gave me Strabo to look over ; it was the edition which he had caused to be made. He commended the care and pains bestowed upon it, and said that it had been his intention to give us, in course of time, editions of all the works of the ancients, through the official medium of the Institute.—Before dinner the Emperor sent for me and my son, and spent at least six hours with us, reading over and recasting the chapters on the Tagliamento, Leoben, and Venice.

All is fine in these chapters on the Campaign of Italy. In that on the Tagliamento we see how one single disposition, made on the banks of that river and hardly noticed, one of those movements which the Emperor calls *the thought of the battle*, must inevitably lead to the gates of Vienna.

The chapter on Venice is written after the manner of the ancients. However, the last chapter read, always seems to be that which pleases most, and I have therefore no doubt that my readers will be obliged to me for having made them acquainted with all that I had left in my hands.

I was extremely unwell and very tired, not so much from fatigue occasioned by working, as from bodily indisposition. We amused ourselves this evening by reading the description of Ulysses' departure from the Island of Calypso, and his arrival amongst the Pheacians.

On Sensibility.—On the inhabitants of the East and West ; differences observable between them, &c.

23d.—This morning the Emperor conversing in his room, after touching on several subjects, spoke about sentiment, feelings, and sensibility ; and having alluded to one of us who, as he observed, never pronounced the name of his mother but with tears in his eyes, he said, “ But “ is this not peculiar to him ? Is this a general “ feeling ? Do you experience the same thing, “ or am I unnatural in that respect ? I certainly “ love my mother with all my heart ; there is no “ thing that I would not do for her, yet if I were “ to hear of her death, I do not think that my “ grief would manifest itself by even a single tear ; “ but I would not affirm that this would be the

“ case if I were to lose a friend, or my wife, or
“ my son. Is this distinction founded on nature ?
“ What can be the cause of it ? Is it that my
“ reason has prepared me beforehand to expect
“ the death of my mother as being in the natural
“ course of events, whereas the loss of my wife,
“ or of my son, is an unexpected occurrence, a
“ hardship inflicted by fate which I endeavour to
“ struggle against ? Perhaps also this distinction
“ merely proceeds from our natural disposition to
“ egotism. I belong to my mother, but my wife
“ and my son belong to me.” And he went on
multiplying the reasons in support of his opinion
with his usual fertility of invention, in which
there was always something original and striking ;
but I cannot find any memorandum of them.

It is certain that he was tenderly attached to
his wife and his son. Those persons who have
served in the interior of his household now inform
us how fond he was of indulging his feelings of
affection towards his family ; and point out some
shades in his disposition, the existence of which
we were far from suspecting at the time.

He would sometimes take his son in his arms,
and embrace him with the most ardent demon-
strations of paternal love. But most frequently
his affection would manifest itself by playful
teasing, or whimsical tricks. If he met his son in
the gardens, for instance, he would throw him
down or upset his toys. The child was brought

to him every morning at breakfast time, and he then seldom failed to besmear him over with every thing within his reach on the table. With respect to his wife, not a day passed without her forming part of his private conversations; if they lasted any length of time, she was sure to come in for a share in them, or to become the subject of them. There is no circumstance, no minute particularity relating to her, which he has not repeated to me a hundred times. Penelope, after ten years' absence, in order to convince herself that she is not deceived, puts some questions to Ulysses which he alone could answer; well! I think that I should not find it difficult to present my credentials to Maria-Louise.

In the course of the conversation in the evening, the Emperor, speaking of different nations, said he only knew of two,—the Orientals and the inhabitants of the West. “The English, the French, the Italians, &c.” said he, “compose one family, and form the western division; they have the same laws, the same manners, the same customs; and differ entirely from the Orientals, particularly with respect to their women and their servants. The Orientals have slaves; our servants are free: the Orientals shut up their women; our wives share in all our rights: the Orientals keep a seraglio, but polygamy has never been admitted in the West at any period. There are several other dis-

“ tinctious,” said the Emperor; “ it is said that
“ as many as eighty have been reckoned. The
“ inhabitants of the East and of the West are
“ therefore,” observed the Emperor, “ really two
“ distinct nations :—with the Orientals every
“ thing is calculated to enable them to watch
“ over their wives and make sure of them; all
“ our institutions in the West tend, on the con-
“ trary, to put it out of our power to watch over
“ ours, and to make it necessary for us to rely
“ upon them alone. With us every man who
“ does not wish to pass for an idiot must have
“ some occupation; and whilst he is attending
“ to his business, or fulfilling the duties of his
“ situation, who will watch for him? We must
“ therefore, with our manners, rely entirely on
“ the honour of our women, and place implicit
“ confidence in them. For my part,” added he
good-humouredly, “ I have had both wives and
“ mistresses; but it never came into my head to
“ use any particular precaution to watch over
“ them, because I thought that it was with these
“ things as with the fear of daggers and poison
“ in certain situations of life; the torment of
“ guarding against them is greater than the dan-
“ ger we wish to avoid: it is better to trust to
“ one’s fate.

“ It is, however, a very great question to de-
“ cide, which is the best method; though, pro-
“ bably, not for you, ladies,” said he, casting an

arch look upon those that were present : “ yet it
“ is certain that it would be a very great error to
“ suppose that the Orientals have fewer enjoy-
“ ments than we have, and are less happy than
“ we are in the West. In the East the husbands
“ are very fond of their wives, and the wives are
“ very much attached to their husbands. They
“ have as many chances of happiness as we have,
“ however different they may seem ; for every
“ thing is conventional amongst men, even in
“ those feelings which, one would suppose, ought
“ to be dictated by Nature alone. Besides, the
“ women in the East have their rights and privi-
“ leges, as ours have theirs : it would be quite
“ as impossible to prevent them from going to
“ the public bath, as it would be to prevent our
“ women from going to church ; and both mis-
“ use that liberty. You see, therefore, that the
“ imagination, feelings, virtues, and failings of
“ human nature, are circumscribed within a very
“ narrow compass ; and that the same things,
“ with few exceptions and differences, are to be
“ found everywhere.” The Emperor continued
conversing in this manner until after midnight.

*On Holland and King Louis.—Complaints of the Emperor
against the members of his family.—Matters of high Po-
licy, &c.—Letter to King Louis, the Emperor's brother.*

24th.—The Emperor sent for me at about half-
past twelve in his closet. Our conversation turned

upon the succession of authors through which the light of history has been transmitted to us from the remotest antiquity down to our times. This led him to read that part of the first map of the Historical Atlas which gives a recapitulation of them, and presents the whole at one view.

The conversation turned on the diversities of the human species. The Emperor sent for Buffon, to throw a light upon the question; and continued for some time employed in seeking for information on the subject.

Having dressed, the Emperor sent for my son, and we worked three or four hours at the chapters of the Campaign of Italy.

When this was completed, the conversation, through a variety of subjects, turned upon Holland and King Louis, respecting whom he said some things worthy of observation.

“ Louis is not devoid of intelligence,” said the Emperor, “ and has a good heart; but even with these qualifications a man may commit many errors, and do a great deal of mischief. Louis is naturally inclined to be capricious and fantastical, and the works of Jean Jaques Rousseau have contributed to increase this disposition. Seeking to obtain a reputation for sensibility and beneficence, incapable by himself of enlarged views, and, at most, competent to local details, Louis acted like a prefect rather than a king.

“ No sooner had he arrived in Holland, than
“ fancying that nothing could be finer than to
“ have it said that he was thenceforth a true
“ Dutchman, he attached himself entirely to
“ the party favourable to the English, promoted
“ smuggling, and thus connived with our ene-
“ mies. It became necessary from that moment
“ to watch over him, and even to threaten to wage
“ war against him. Louis, then, seeking a re-
“ fuge against the weakness of his disposition in
“ the most stubborn obstinacy, and mistaking a
“ public scandal for an act of glory, fled from his
“ throne, declaiming against me and against my
“ insatiable ambition, my intolerable tyranny,
“ &c. What then remained for me to do? Was
“ I to abandon Holland to our enemies? Ought
“ I to have given it another king? But in that
“ case could I have expected more from him than
“ from my own brother? Did not all the kings
“ that I created act nearly in the same manner?
“ I therefore united Holland to the empire; and
“ this act produced a most unfavourable impres-
“ sion in Europe, and contributed not a little to
“ lay the foundation of our misfortunes.

“ Louis had been delighted to take Lucien as
“ his model: Lucien had acted nearly in the
“ same manner; and if, at a later period, he has
“ repented, and has even nobly made amends for
“ his errors, this conduct, which perhaps did ho-

“nour to his character, did not, however, produce any favourable change in our affairs.

“On my return from Elba in 1815, Louis wrote a long letter to me from Rome, and sent an ambassador to me. It was his treaty, he said, the conditions upon which he would return to me. I answered that I would not make any treaty with him, that he was my brother, and that if he came back he would be well received.

“Will it be believed that one of his conditions was that he should be at liberty to divorce Hortense. I severely rebuked the negotiator for having dared to be the bearer of so absurd a proposal, and for having believed that such a measure could ever be made the subject of a negotiation. I reminded Louis that our family compact positively forbade it, and represented to him that it was no less forbidden by the laws of policy and morality, and by public opinion.

“I farther assured him that, actuated by all these motives, if his children were to lose their estate through his fault, I should feel more interested for them than for him, although he was my brother.

“Perhaps an excuse might be found for the caprice of Louis’s disposition, in the deplorable state of his health, the age at which it became deranged, and the horrible circumstances which produced that derangement, and which must

“ have had a considerable influence upon his mind ; he was on the point of death on the occasion, and has, ever since, been subject to most cruel infirmities : he is almost paralytic on one side.

“ It is certain, however,” added the Emperor, “ that I have derived little assistance from my own family, and that they have greatly injured me and the great cause for which I fought. The energy of my disposition has often been extolled ; but I have been a mere milksop, particularly with my family ; this they knew ; after the first moment of anger was over they always carried their point by perseverance and obstinacy. I became tired of the contest, and they did with me just as they pleased. These are great errors which I have committed. If, instead of this, each of them had given a common impulse to the different bodies which I have placed under their direction, we should have marched on to the poles ; every thing would have given way before us ; we should have changed the face of the world ; Europe would now enjoy the advantages of a new system, and we should have received the benedictions of mankind ! I have not been so fortunate as Gengis-khan with his four sons, each of whom rivalled the other in zeal for his service. No sooner had I made a man a king, than he thought himself king *by the grace of God*, so

“ contagious is the use of the expression. He
“ was then no longer a lieutenant on whom
“ I could rely, but another enemy whom I
“ was obliged to guard against. His efforts
“ were not directed towards seconding me, but
“ towards rendering himself independent. They
“ all immediately imagined that they were adored
“ and preferred to me. From that moment I was
“ in their way, I endangered their existence!
“ Legitimate monarchs would not have behaved
“ differently; would not have thought them-
“ selves more firmly established. Weak-minded
“ men! who may have convinced themselves
“ when I fell, that the enemy has not even done
“ them the honour to demand the surrender of
“ their dignities, or even to allude to it. If they
“ are now put under personal restraint, if they
“ are subject to vexation, it must proceed on the
“ part of the conqueror, from a wish to impose
“ the weight of power, or from the base motive
“ of gratifying his vengeance. If the members
“ of my family excite a great interest amongst
“ mankind, it is because they belong to me and
“ to the common cause; but assuredly there is
“ not the least danger of any movement being
“ produced by any of them. Notwithstanding
“ the philosophy of several of them, (for some
“ of them had said, after the fashion of the
“ *Chambellans* of the Faubourg Saint-Germain,
“ that they were *forced* to reign,) their fall must

“ have been sensibly felt by them, for they had
“ soon accommodated themselves to the pleasures and comforts of their station. They have
“ all really been kings, thanks to my labours : all
“ have enjoyed the advantages of royalty ; I alone
“ have known its cares. I have all the time
“ carried the world on my shoulders ; and this
“ occupation, after all, is rather fatiguing. It will
“ perhaps be asked, why I persisted in erecting
“ states and kingdoms ? But the manners and
“ the situation of Europe required it. Every
“ time that another country was annexed to
“ France, the act, added to the universal alarm
“ which already prevailed, excited loud murmurs,
“ and diminished the chances of peace. Then
“ why, will it be farther said, did I indulge in
“ the vanity of placing every member of my
“ family on a throne ? (for the generality of people will have thought me actuated by vanity
“ alone :) why did I not rather fix my choice upon
“ some private individuals possessing greater
“ abilities ? To this I reply, that it is not with
“ thrones as with the functions of a prefect ;
“ talents and abilities are so common in the present age amongst the multitude, that one
“ must be cautious to avoid awakening the idea
“ of competition. In the agitation of our situation, and with our modern institutions, it was
“ proper to think rather of consolidating and concentrating the hereditary right of succession,

“ in order to avoid innumerable feuds, factions, and misfortunes. The principal defect in my person and my elevation, consistently with the plan of universal harmony, which I meditated for the repose and happiness of all, was that I had risen at once from the multitude. I felt that I stood insulated and alone, and I cast anchors around me on all sides. Where could I more naturally look for support than amongst my own relations? Could I expect more from strangers? And it must be admitted, that if the members of my family have had the folly to break through these sacred ties, the morality of the people, superior to their blind infatuation, fulfilled in part my object. With them their subjects thought themselves more quiet, more united as in one family.”

“ To resume, acts of that importance were not to be considered lightly; they were involved in considerations of the highest order; they were connected with the tranquillity of mankind, the possibility of ameliorating its condition. If, notwithstanding all these measures, taken with the best intentions, it seems that no permanent good has been effected, we must admit the truth of this great maxim, that to govern is very difficult for those who wish to do it conscientiously.”

N.B. The following letter of a very old date, will serve to throw a great light upon the words

of Napoleon, mentioned a few pages back, respecting the conduct of his brother in Holland.

At a later period King Louis published a sort of account of his administration, addressed to the Dutch nation; it is particularly interesting, after having read the above paragraph and the accompanying letter, to take up that document of King Louis, in order to be able to form an opinion on the subject founded on a due knowledge of all the circumstances.

“ Castle of Marach, 3d April, 1808.

“ Sir and my brother.—The auditor D——t
“ delivered to me an hour ago your despatch,
“ dated 22d March. I send a courier who will
“ take this letter to you in Holland.

“ The use you have just made of the privilege
“ of mercy cannot but produce a very bad effect.
“ This privilege is one of the finest and noblest
“ attributes of the sovereign power. In order
“ not to bring it into discredit, it must be
“ used only in cases when the royal clemency
“ is not detrimental to the ends of justice, or
“ when it is calculated to leave an impression
“ of being the result of generous feelings. The
“ present case is that of a number of banditti
“ who attacked and murdered several custom-
“ house officers, with the intention of smuggling
“ afterwards without interruption. These peo-
“ ple are condemned to death; and your Majesty

“extends the royal mercy to them . . . to a set of
“murderers, to men whom nobody can pity. If
“they had been caught in the act of smuggling ;
“if in defending themselves they had killed
“some of the officers, then you might perhaps
“have taken into consideration the situation of
“their families, and their own ; and have shewn
“an example of a kind of paternal feeling, by
“modifying the severity of the law by a com-
“mutation of punishment. It is in cases of con-
“demnation for offences against the revenue laws,
“it is more particularly in cases of condemna-
“tions for political offences, that clemency is well
“applied. In these matters the principle is, that
“if it is the sovereign who is attacked, there is a
“certain magnanimity in pardoning the offender.
“On the first report of an affair of that kind, the
“sympathy of the public is immediately excited
“in favour of the offender, and not of him who is
“to inflict the punishment. If the prince remit
“the sentence, the people consider him superior
“to the offence, and the public clamour is di-
“rected against those who have offended him.
“If he follow the opposite system, he is thought
“vindictive and tyrannical. If he pardon hor-
“rible crimes, he is looked upon as weak, or
“actuated by bad intentions.

“Do not fancy that the privilege of mercy can
“always be used without danger, and that society
“will always commend the exercise of it in the

“ sovereign. The sovereign is blamed when he
“ applies it in favour of murderers or great male-
“ factors, because it then becomes injurious to the
“ interests of the community. You have too fre-
“ quently, and on too many occasions, extended
“ the royal mercy. The kindness of your heart
“ must not be listened to when it can become
“ prejudicial to your people. In the affair of the
“ Jews, I should have done as you did; but in
“ that of the smugglers of Middleburg, I should
“ not have pardoned on any account. Many
“ reasons ought to have induced you to let
“ justice take its course, and give the example of
“ an execution which would have produced the
“ excellent effect of preventing many crimes by
“ the terror which it would have inspired. Pub-
“ lic officers are murdered in the middle of the
“ night—the murderers are condemned. Your
“ Majesty commutes the punishment of death
“ into a few years’ imprisonment! How much
“ will this not tend to dishearten all the persons
“ employed in the collection of your revenue!
“ The political effect produced by it is also very
“ bad, for the following reasons:—Holland was
“ the channel through which England had, for
“ many years, introduced her goods on the Con-
“ tinent. The Dutch merchants have made im-
“ mense profits by this trade; and that is the
“ reason why the Dutch nation is partial to Eng-
land, and fond of smuggling, and why it hates

“ France, who forbids smuggling and opposes
“ England. The mercy which you have extend-
“ ed to these smugglers and murderers, is a kind
“ of compliment which you have paid to the taste
“ of the Dutch for smuggling. You appear to
“ make common cause with them,—and against
“ whom? . . . against me.

“ The Dutch love you: your disposition is
“ amiable, your manners are unaffected, and you
“ govern them according to their inclination; but
“ you would make a beneficial use of the influence
“ you possess, if you shewed yourself positively
“ determined to suppress smuggling, and if you
“ opened their eyes to their real interests: they
“ would then think that the system of prohibi-
“ tion is good, since it is observed by the King.
“ I cannot see what advantage your Majesty can
“ derive from a species of popularity which you
“ would acquire at my expense. Certainly Hol-
“ land is no longer what it was at the time of the
“ treaty of Ryswick; and France is not in the
“ situation in which it was placed during the
“ last years of the reign of Louis XVI. If, there-
“ fore, Holland is unable to follow a system of
“ policy independent of that of France, it must
“ fulfil the conditions of the alliance.

“ It is not to the present alone that sovereigns
“ must accommodate their policy; the future
“ must also be the object of their consideration.
“ What is at this moment the situation of Europe?

“ On one side, England, who possesses, by *her*
“ *sole exertions*, a dominion to which the whole
“ world has been hitherto compelled to submit.
“ On the other side, the French Empire and the
“ Continental States, which, strengthened by the
“ union of their powers, cannot acquiesce in
“ this supremacy exercised by England. Those
“ states had also their colonies and a maritime
“ trade : they possess an extent of coast much
“ greater than England ; but they have become
“ disunited, and England has attacked the naval
“ power of each separately : England has tri-
“ umphed on every sea, and all navies have been
“ destroyed. Russia, Sweden, France, and Spain,
“ which possess such ample means for having
“ ships and sailors, dare not venture to send a
“ squadron out of their ports. It is, therefore,
“ no longer from a confederation amongst the ma-
“ ritime powers—a confederation which it would
“ be besides impossible to maintain, on account
“ of the distance, and of the interference of the
“ various interests of each with those of the
“ others—that Europe can expect its maritime
“ emancipation, and a system of peace, which
“ can be established only by the will of England.

“ I wish for peace ; I wish to obtain it by
“ every means compatible with the dignity of
“ the power of France ; at the expense of every
“ sacrifice which our national honour can allow.
“ Every day I feel more and more that peace is

“ necessary; and the sovereigns of the Continent
“ are as anxious for peace as I am. I feel no
“ *passionate prejudice* against England; I bear
“ her no *insurmountable hatred*: she has followed
“ against me a system of repulsion; I have
“ adopted against her the Continental system,
“ not so much from a *jealousy of ambition*, as my
“ enemies suppose, but in order to reduce Eng-
“ land to the necessity of adjusting our diffe-
“ rences. Let England be rich and prosperous;
“ it is no concern of mine, provided France and
“ her allies enjoy the same advantages.

“ The Continental system has, therefore, no
“ other object than to advance the moment when
“ the public rights of Europe and of the French
“ Empire will be definitively established. The
“ sovereigns of the North observe and enforce
“ strictly the system of prohibition, and their
“ trade has been greatly benefited by it: the
“ manufactures of Prussia may now compete
“ with ours. You are aware that France, and
“ the whole extent of coasts which now forms
“ part of the Empire, from the Gulf of Lyons
“ to the extremity of the Adriatic, are strictly
“ closed against the produce of foreign industry.
“ I am about to adopt a measure with respect to
“ the affairs of Spain, the result of which will be
“ to wrest Portugal from England, and subject
“ all the coasts of Spain, on both seas, to the
“ influence of the policy of France. The coasts

“ of the whole of Europe will then be closed
“ against England, with the exception of those
“ of Turkey, which I do not care about, as the
“ Turks do not trade with Europe.

“ Do you not perceive, from this statement,
“ the fatal consequences that would result from
“ the facilities given by Holland to the English
“ for the introduction of their goods on the Con-
“ tinent? They would enable England to levy
“ upon us the subsidies which she would after-
“ wards offer to other powers to fight against us.
“ Your Majesty is as much interested as I am
“ to guard against the crafty policy of the Eng-
“ lish Cabinet. A few years more, and England
“ will wish for peace as much as we do. Observe
“ the situation of your kingdom, and you will
“ see that the system I allude to is more useful
“ to yourself than it is to me. Holland is a
“ maritime and commercial power; she pos-
“ sesses fine sea-ports, fleets, sailors, skilful
“ commanders, and colonies which do not cost
“ any thing to the mother-country; and her
“ inhabitants understand trade as well as the
“ English. Has not Holland, therefore, an in-
“ terest in defending all those advantages? May
“ not peace restore her to the station she for-
“ merly held? Granted that her situation may
“ be painful for a few years; but is not this
“ preferable to making the King of Holland a
“ mere governor for England, and Holland and

“ her colonies a vassal of Great Britain? Yet
“ the protection which you would afford to
“ English commerce would lead to that result.
“ The examples of Sicily and Portugal are still
“ before your eyes.

“ Await the result of the progress of time.
“ You want to sell your gins, and England wants
“ to buy them. Point out the place where the
“ English smugglers may come and fetch them :
“ but let them pay for them in money and never
“ in goods, *positively never* ! Peace must at last
“ be made ; and you will then make a treaty of
“ commerce with England. I may perhaps also
“ make one with her, but in which our mutual
“ interests shall be reciprocally guaranteed. If
“ we must allow England to exercise a kind of
“ supremacy on the sea, a supremacy which she
“ will have purchased at the expense of her
“ treasures and of her blood, and which is the
“ natural consequences of her geographical posi-
“ tion and of her possessions in the three other
“ parts of the globe ; at least our flags will be at
“ liberty to appear on the ocean without being
“ exposed to insult, and our maritime trade
“ will cease to be ruinous. For the present
“ we must direct our efforts towards preventing
“ England from interfering in the affairs of the
“ Continent.

“ I have been led on from the consideration of
“ the mercy which you have granted, to the above

“ details, and I have entered into them, because I
“ feared that your Dutch ministers may impress
“ your Majesty’s mind with false notions.

“ I wish you to reflect seriously upon the con-
“ tents of this letter, and to render the different
“ subjects it treats upon objects of the delibe-
“ rations of your councils, in order that your
“ ministers may give a proper direction and
“ tendency to their measures. Under no pre-
“ tence whatever will France allow Holland to
“ separate herself from the Continental system.

“ With respect to these smugglers, since the
“ fault has been committed, it cannot be undone.
“ I advise you, however, not to leave them in the
“ prisons of Middleburg; it is too near the spot
“ where the crime was perpetrated: send them
“ to the remotest part of Holland. The present
“ having no other object, &c.

(Signed) “ NAPOLEON.”

During dinner the Emperor asked his groom how his horse was; the groom answered that it was well fed, in good spirits, and in excellent condition. “ I hope he does not complain of me,” said the Emperor, “ if ever a horse led the life of
“ a *chanoine*, it is assuredly this one.” It is now two or three months since the Emperor rode on horseback.

Zeal for working.—Ideas and Plans of Napoleon respecting our History, &c.—On the Works published, &c.—M. Ménéval ; curious particularities, &c. &c.

25th—27th. The Emperor for some days past has been remarkably assiduous in his application. All our mornings have been spent in making researches respecting Egypt, in the works of the ancient authors; we have looked over Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, &c. together, without any other intermission than that which we required to eat our breakfast, which was served on his small table. The weather continued bad, and the Emperor dictated every day and the whole day.

At dinner he told us he found himself much better, and we then observed to him, that for some time past, however, he did not go out of the house, and was occupied eight, ten, or twelve hours of the day. “That is the very reason of my being better,” said he: “occupation is my element, I am born and made for it. I have found the limits beyond which I could not use my legs; I have seen the extent to which I could use my eyes; but I have never known any bounds to my capability of application. I nearly killed poor Ménéval; I was obliged to relieve him for a time from the duties of his situation, and place him for the recovery of his health near the person of Maria Louisa, where his post was a mere sinecure.”

The Emperor added, that if he were in Europe and had leisure, his pleasure would be to write history. He complained of the very indifferent manner in which history was written every where. The researches he had lately been engaged in had proved this fact to him to a degree beyond any thing he could ever have suspected.

"We have no good history," observed he, "and we could not have any; and the other nations of Europe were nearly in the same predicament as ourselves. Monks and privileged individuals, that is, men friendly to abuses and inimical to information and learning, had monopolized this branch of writing; they had told us what they thought proper, or rather that which favoured their interests, gratified their passions, or agreed with their own views! —He had formed," he said, "a plan for remedying the evil as much as possible; he intended, for instance, to appoint commissions from the Institute, or learned men whom public opinion might have pointed out to him, to revise, criticize, and republish our historical annals. He wished also to add commentaries to the classic authors which are put in the hands of our youth, to explain them with reference to our modern institutions. With a good program, competition, and rewards, this end would have been accomplished; every thing can be obtained by such means."

He then repeated, what I believe I have mentioned before, that it had been his intention to cause the history of the last reigns of our kings to be written from the original documents taken from the archives of our foreign affairs. There were also several manuscripts, both ancient and modern, in the Imperial Library, which he intended to have printed, classifying and embodying them under their different heads, so as to form codes of doctrines on science, morality, literature, fine arts, &c. &c. &c.

He had, he said, several other plans of a similar nature. And could any other period be found equally favourable to the execution of such plans? When will there be again united in the same man, the genius to conceive and the power to execute them?

In order to check the production of the immense number of inferior works with which the public was inundated, without however trenching upon the liberty of the press, he asked what objection there could have been to the formation of a tribunal of opinion, composed of members of the Institute, of members of the University, and of persons appointed by the government, who would have examined all works with reference to these three points of view, science, morality, and politics; who would have criticized them, and

defined the degree of merit possessed by each. This tribunal would have been the light of the public: it would have operated as a warranty in favour of works of real merit; would have insured their success, and thus produced emulation; whilst, on the contrary, it would necessarily have discouraged the publication of inferior productions.

All our evenings were devoted to the *Odyssey*, with which we are delighted. Polyphemus, Tiresias, and the Syrens, have quite charmed us.

The following details relate to M. Ménéval, to whom the Emperor alluded above: they will be considered invaluable, as they will serve to exhibit Napoleon in the sphere of his private life.

The Emperor, when First Consul, complained that he had no secretary. He had just dismissed the one he had had during the campaigns of Italy and the expedition in Egypt; he was an old college acquaintance of the Emperor, a man full of intelligence, and to whom he was very much attached; but he had been obliged to part with him. His brother Joseph then offered him his own secretary, whom he had only had for a short time: Napoleon accepted the offer, and acquired a treasure. This the Emperor has repeated several times since. It was Ménéval, whom he has since made a baron, *maître des requêtes*, and *secrétaire des commandemens* of the Empress Maria Louisa.

Ménéval's title, when attached to the First Consul, was *secretary of the portfolio*; a long regulation was even made expressly regarding him; the principal article of which was, that he should never, under any pretence whatever, have a secretary, nor employ a scribe; which condition was strictly observed.

M. Ménéval was a man of gentle and reserved manners, very discreet, working at all times and at all hours. The Emperor never had reason to be dissatisfied or displeased with him, and was very much attached to him. The secretary of the portfolio had generally all the current business, all affairs that arose on a sudden emergency, or from a sudden thought. How many affairs, plans, and conceptions, have been discussed and transmitted through his medium! He opened and read all letters addressed to the Emperor; classed them for the Emperor's examination, and wrote under his dictation.

The Emperor dictated so fast, that, most frequently, in order to save time, the secretary was obliged to endeavour to recollect the words, rather than attempt to write them down at the moment they were pronounced. In this, Ménéval particularly excelled. In course of time Ménéval was authorized himself to return an answer on many subjects. He might easily have acquired great influence; but it was quite contrary to his inclination to seek to obtain it.

The Emperor was almost always in his closet; it might be said that he spent the whole day and part of the night in it. He usually went to bed at ten or eleven o'clock, and got up again at about twelve, to work for a few hours more. Sometimes he sent for M. Ménéval, but most frequently he did not; and aware of his zeal, he would sometimes say to him, "You must not kill yourself."

When the Emperor went into his closet in the morning, he found bundles of papers already arranged and prepared for him by Ménéval, who had been there before him. If the Emperor sometimes allowed twenty-four hours, or two days, to elapse without going into it, his secretary would remind him of it, and tell him that he would suffer himself to be overwhelmed with the mass of papers that were accumulating, and that the closet would soon be full of them. To this the Emperor usually answered good-humouredly: "Do not alarm yourself, it will soon be cleared;" and so indeed it was, for in a few hours the Emperor had despatched all the answers, and was even with the current business. It is true that he got through a great deal by not answering many things, and throwing away all that he considered useless, even when coming from his ministers. To this they were accustomed; and when they saw no answer appeared, they knew what it meant. He himself read all letters that were

addressed to him; to some he answered by writing a few words in the margin, and to others he dictated an answer. Those that were of great importance were always put by, and read a second time, and were never answered until some time had elapsed. When leaving his closet, he generally recapitulated those affairs that were of greatest consequence, and fixed the hour at which they must be ready for him, which was always punctually attended to. If at that hour the Emperor did not come, M. Ménéval followed him about from place to place through the palace several times to remind him of it. On some of these occasions the Emperor would go and settle the affair; at other times he would say, "*To-morrow; night is a good adviser.*" This was his usual phrase; and he often said that he had indeed worked much more at night than during the day; not that thoughts of business prevented him from sleeping, but because he slept at intervals, according as he wanted rest, and a little sufficed for him.

It often happened to the Emperor, in the course of his campaigns, to be roused suddenly upon some emergency of business; he would then immediately get up, and it would have been impossible to guess from the appearance of his eyes that he had just been sleeping. He then gave his decision, or dictated his answer, with as much

clearness, and with his mind as free and unembarrassed, as at any other moment. This he called the *after midnight presence of mind*; and he possessed it in a most extraordinary degree. It has sometimes happened that he has been perhaps called up as often as ten times in the same night, and each time he was always found to have fallen asleep again, not having as yet taken his quantum of rest.

Boasting one day to one of his ministers (General Clarke) of the faculty which he possessed of sleeping almost at pleasure and how little rest he required, Clarke answered in a jocular tone, "Yes, Sire, and that is a source of torment to us, for it is often at our expense; we feel our share of it sometimes."

The Emperor did every thing himself and through the medium of his closet. He appointed to all vacant situations, and most frequently substituted new names to those of the persons proposed to him. He read the plans of his ministers, adopted, rejected, or modified them. He even indited the notes of his Minister for foreign affairs, which he dictated to Ménéval, from whom he kept no secret. It was through Ménéval also that he wrote to the different sovereigns; in addressing whom he observed a formula which he had had drawn up from the protocols of former times, and to the strict observance of which he attached great importance. All the ministers transacted busi-

ness with the Emperor together on one day of the week appointed for that purpose, unless something occurred to prevent it. The business of each minister was transacted in the presence of all the others, who were allowed to give their opinions respecting it, and each of them thus emptied his portfolio. A register was kept of the deliberations, of which there must be many volumes. Those documents that had been decided on, were left to have the signature affixed to them, which was done through the medium of the minister secretary of state, who countersigned them. Sometimes some of these papers, after they had been thus decided on, were still sent to the Emperor's closet to be revised and modified before the signature was put to them. The minister for foreign affairs was the only one who, independently of his share in the general business transacted by the other ministers, had besides, from the secret nature of his functions, other duties to despatch in private with the Emperor.

One of the favourite aides-de-camp of the Emperor was entrusted with that branch of the administration of war called the *personnel*, which embraces every thing relating to the soldiers personally. Duroc occupied for a long time this confidential post; afterwards Bertrand and Lauriston; Count Lobau was the last who filled it.

M. Ménéval being in a very indifferent state of health, worn down by fatigue of application,

and requiring some interval of repose, the Emperor gave him a situation in the household of the Empress Maria Louisa, which was, he said, quite a sinecure. However, the Emperor only parted with him on condition that he should come back to him as soon as he was well; and he never failed to remind him of it every time he saw him.

After Ménéval's retirement, the business of the Emperor's closet ceased to be conducted by one person only; Ménéval had a great many successors at the same moment, and the closet became a kind of office, in which several persons were employed. One of these persons, whom the Emperor had taken on the recommendation of others who had thought they could answer for him as for themselves, received an order, at the time of the disasters of 1814, to burn the documents that were in the closet; but instead of obeying this order he so far forgot his duty, as to take them away with him; and after the King's restoration, he wrote to one of his ministers to offer them to him. The Emperor found the proof of his treachery amongst the papers left at the Tuileries at the period of the 20th of March; and one morning having gone into his closet before any body was come, he wrote several times on a piece of paper, as if he had been trying his pen, *Such a one is a traitor—Such a one is a traitor*; and laid it on the table where sat one of those who had recommended him, and who

was himself, said the Emperor, a man on whose zeal and fidelity every reliance could be placed. This was the only reproach he ever addressed to him, and the only vengeance he ever exercised on the offender.

Several traces may therefore still be found, and several documents must exist, of the business transacted in the Emperor's closet. Some of these documents have been alluded to in the debates of the British parliament; but Napoleon solemnly declared, on his return at the period of the 20th of March last, that these documents had been falsified. And they are not the only documents that are left of that ever-memorable administration.

There must be twenty or thirty folio volumes, and as many in quarto, containing the correspondence of the campaigns of Italy and of Egypt, collected and regularly classed.

There must be also about sixty or eighty folio volumes of the deliberations of the Council of Ministers, collected by the secretaries of state, the Duke of Bassano and Count Daru. And lastly, the minutes of the sittings of the Council of State, written and arranged by M. Locré.

These are real and proud titles of glory for Napoleon. Upon these immortal monuments, all subsequent governments have modelled and directed their administrations; and from them all future governments, of every country, will hence-

forth inevitably seek and derive information: so sure and solid have been the foundations which he has laid—so judiciously placed the landmarks—so deeply laid the roots—so much, in one word, does the whole bear the stamp of genius, and the character of rectitude and of duration.

Observations of the Emperor concerning my wife.—Dictation of the Emperor for another portion of his Memoirs.

28th.—The Emperor to-day took advantage of an interval of fine weather to take two turns in the calash: he said he wanted a little jolting. His left cheek was still swelled. At about three o'clock he returned; and a short time after, having nothing to do, he sent for me, and we walked round the garden for some time. Having perceived the Doctor, he beckoned to him. The Doctor came up to us, and from him Napoleon heard that the Russian and Austrian commissioners had come the day before to the gates of Longwood, from which they had been turned away in pursuance of the regulations established by the Governor.

When we were alone, the Emperor, after having conversed upon a variety of subjects, spoke of my wife, conjecturing what she might be doing, what had become of her, &c. &c.

“There is no doubt,” said he, a short time after, “that your situation at Saint-Helena inspires a lively interest, and must tend to cause

“ your wife’s company to be sought after. Every
“ thing relating to me is still dear to many per-
“ sons. From this rock I still bestow crowns!
“ Yes, my dear friends, when you return to
“ Europe, you will find yourselves crowned!”

Then, speaking again of my wife, he said, with an expression of the utmost kindness, “ The best
“ thing she could do would be to go and spend
“ the time of her separation from you with Ma-
“ dame, or some other members of my family.
“ They would undoubtedly feel much pleasure in
“ taking care of her,” &c.

When we went back into the house, the Emperor sat down to work. The Campaign of Italy was nearly finished, but he provided me with a new subject.

“ *Note, write:*”—These were the words which the Emperor uttered abruptly when a new idea occurred. What follows is literally what he dictated to me, in this instance: nothing has been altered in it, and he has never read it over.

“ *Note.*—The Campaign of Italy being completed, Las Cases will, in the course of a week,
“ undertake the period from the breaking of the
“ treaty of Amiens to the battle of Jena. In 1802
“ all Europe is at peace; shortly afterwards all
“ Europe begins war: the Republic is changed,
“ and becomes the Empire; the maritime ques-
“ tion becomes the chief cause of the rupture of
“ the peace of Amiens.

“ Las Cases will begin by causing extracts
“ to be made from the *Moniteurs* of that time,
“ by little Emanuel, under his directions: he
“ must get through at least six or seven a-day,
“ which will make one hundred and eighty, or
“ a period of six months, in one month. There
“ must be at least a period of six months ex-
“ tracted before we begin.

“ The periods preceding and following that
“ period will be prepared and arranged by the
“ other gentlemen. In making the extracts, the
“ plan already prescribed to M. Montholon must
“ be followed; that is, of extracting all that
“ relates to one event, and referring to the page
“ and month.

“ *The following will be the great events of this
period:—*

“ 1st, History of the flotilla.

“ 2d, Declaration of Austria.

“ 3d, Movements of the fleets.

“ 4th, Battle of Trafalgar.

“ 5th, Ulm—Austerlitz.

“ 6th, Peace of Vienna.

“ 7th, Negotiation of Lord Lauderdale at Paris.

“ 8th, Battle of Jena.

“ *To be inserted in their respective places:—*

“ 1st, Conspiracy of Georges.

“ 2d, Affair of the Duc d'Enghien.

“ 3d, Coronation of the Emperor, by the Pope.

“ 4th, Imperial organization.

“ This will be one of the finest periods of the
“ history of France ; for it exhibits, in the space
“ of one year, on one side a Pope coming to
“ France to crown an Emperor,—an event which
“ had not taken place for one thousand years
“ before ; and, on the other, the French flag
“ waving over the capitals of Austria and Prus-
“ sia, the Roman empire dissolved, and the
“ Prussian monarchy destroyed.”

I take pleasure in transcribing literally the above dictation of the Emperor, with his first ideas and in his first words, in order to shew his style and manner.

It will be easily conceived with what zeal and ardour both my son and myself devoted ourselves to this our task, the importance of which we fully appreciated.

On a Hole in the Garden.

29th. — During the dinner somebody mentioned a pool which stands in our garden, not far from the house, and which is deep enough to admit of a lamb having once been drowned in it, in attempting to drink. The Emperor said on that occasion, to one of the inmates of the house : “ Is it possible, Sir, that you have not
“ yet had this pool filled up ? How guilty you
“ would be, and what would not your grief be,
“ if your son were to be drowned in it, as it
“ might easily happen ! ” The person thus cen-

sured answered that he had often intended to have it done, but that it was impossible to get workmen. "That is not an excuse," said the Emperor sharply; "if *my* son were here, I "should go and fill it up with my own hands."

The Emperor was already in bed when he sent for me: he wished, he said, to put some questions to me, and to inquire of some dates respecting matters which concerned us materially. . . .

Eloquent dictations of the Emperor.—Characteristic details.—Particularities, &c.

30th.—Whenever the Emperor took up a subject, if he was in the least animated, his language was fit to be printed. He has often, when an idea struck him forcibly, dictated to any one of us that happened to be in his way, pages which, at the first throw, were of the finest diction. The other gentlemen of his suite must possess a great many of these dictations, which are all most invaluable. Unfortunately for me, the weak state of my eyes, which prevented me from writing, most frequently deprived me of this advantage.

On one occasion, when the English ministerial newspaper spoke of the large treasures which Napoleon must possess, and which he, no doubt, concealed, the Emperor dictated as follows:

"You wish to know the treasures of Napoleon?
"They are immense, it is true, but they are all

“ exposed to light. They are: The noble har-
“ bours of Antwerp and Flushing, which are ca-
“ pable of containing the largest fleets, and of pro-
“ tecting them against the ice from the sea,—the
“ hydraulic works at Dunkirk, Havre, and Nice,
“ —the immense harbour of Cherbourg,—the mari-
“ time works at Venice,—the beautiful roads from
“ Antwerp to Amsterdam; from Mentz to Metz;
“ from Bordeaux to Bayonne;—the passes of the
“ Simplon, of Mount Cenis, of Mount Geneve,
“ of the Corniche, which open a communication
“ through the Alps in four different directions;
“ and which exceed in grandeur, in boldness, and
“ in skill of execution, all the works of the Ro-
“ mans; in that alone you will find eight hundred
“ millions;—the roads from the Pyrenees to the
“ Alps, from Parma to Spezia, from Savona to
“ Piedmont,—the bridges of Jena, Austerlitz,
“ Des Arts, Sevres, Tours, Rouanne, Lyons, Tu-
“ rin, of the Isere, of the Durance, of Bordeaux,
“ Rouen, &c.—the canal which connects the
“ Rhine with the Rhone by the Doubs, and thus
“ unites the North sea with the Mediterranean;
“ the canal which connects the Scheldt with the
“ Somme, and thus joins Paris and Amsterdam;
“ the canal which unites the Rance to the Vilaine;
“ the canal of Arles, that of Pavia, and the canal
“ of the Rhine,—the draining of the marshes of
“ Burgoine, of the Gotentin, of Rochfort,—the
“ rebuilding of the greater number of the churches

“ destroyed during the Revolution,—the building of others,—the institution of numerous establishments of industry for the suppression of mendicity,—the building at the Louvre, —the construction of public warehouses, of the Bank, of the canal of the Ourcq,—the distribution of water in the city of Paris,—the numerous drains, the quays, the embellishments and the monuments of that large capital,—the works for the embellishment of Rome,—the re-establishment of the manufactures of Lyons,—the creation of many hundreds of manufactories of cotton, for spinning and for weaving, which employ several millions of workmen,—funds accumulated to establish upwards of 400 manufactories of sugar from beet-roots, for the consumption of part of France, and which would have furnished sugar at the same price as the West Indies, if they had continued to receive encouragement for only four years longer,—the substitution of woad for indigo, which would have been at last brought to a state of perfection in France, and obtained as good and as cheap as the indigo from the Colonies,—numerous manufactories for all kinds of objects of art, &c.—fifty millions expended in repairing and beautifying the palaces belonging to the Crown,—sixty millions in furniture for the palaces belonging to the Crown in France, and in Holland, at Turin,

“ and at Rome—sixty millions of diamonds for
“ the Crown, all purchased with Napoleon’s
“ money—the *Regent* (the only diamond that was
“ left belonging to the former diamonds of the
“ Crown) withdrawn from the hands of the Jews
“ at Berlin, in whose hands it had been left as
“ a pledge for three millions. The Napoleon Mu-
“ seum, valued at upwards of 400,000,000, filled
“ with objects legitimately acquired, either by
“ money or treaties of peace known to the whole
“ world, by virtue of which the *chefs d’œuvres* it
“ contains were given in lieu of territory or of
“ contributions. Several millions amassed to
“ be applied to the encouragement of agricul-
“ ture, which is the paramount consideration for
“ the interest of France; the introduction in
“ France of Merino sheep, &c. these form a trea-
“ sure of several thousand millions which will
“ endure for ages! *these* are the monuments that
“ will confute calumny!

“ History will say that all these things were
“ accomplished in the midst of perpetual wars,
“ without having recourse to any loan, and whilst
“ the national debt was even diminishing every
“ day, and that nearly fifty millions of taxes had
“ been remitted. Very large sums still remained
“ in his private treasure; they were guarantied to
“ him by the treaty of Fontainebleau as the result
“ of the savings effected on his civil list and of
“ his other private revenues: these sums were

“divided and did not go entirely into the public treasury, nor altogether into the treasury of France!!”

On another occasion, the Emperor reading in an English newspaper that Lord Castlereagh had said, in an assembly in Ireland, that Napoleon had declared at Saint-Helena that he never would have made peace with England but to deceive her, take her by surprise and destroy her; and that, if the French army was attached to the Emperor, it was because he was in the habit of giving the daughters of the richest families of his empire in marriage to his soldiers; the Emperor, moved with indignation, dictated as follows: “These calumnies uttered against a man who is so barbarously oppressed, and who is not allowed to make his voice heard in answer to them, will be disbelieved by all persons well educated and susceptible of feeling. When Napoleon was seated on the first throne in the world, then no doubt his enemies had a right to say whatever they pleased; his actions were public, and were a sufficient answer to them; at any rate, that conduct now belonged to public opinion, and history; but to utter new and base calumnies against him at the present moment is an act of the utmost meanness and cowardice, and which will not answer the end proposed. Millions of libels have been and are

“ still published every day, but they are with-
“ out effect. 60,000,000 of men, of the most
“ polished nations in the world, raise their
“ voices to confute them, and 50,000 English-
“ men who are now travelling on the Continent,
“ will, on their return home, publish the truth to
“ the inhabitants of the three kingdoms of Great
“ Britain, who will blush at having been so
“ grossly deceived. As for the bill, by virtue of
“ which Napoleon has been dragged to this rock,
“ it is an act of proscription similar to those of
“ Sylla, and still more atrocious. The Romans
“ unrelentingly pursued Hannibal to the ut-
“ most extremities of Bithynia; and Flaminius
“ obtained from King Prusias the death of
“ that great man; yet at Rome Flaminius was
“ accused of having acted thus in order to satisfy
“ his personal hatred. It was in vain that he
“ urged in his defence that Hannibal, yet in the
“ vigour of life, might still become a dangerous
“ enemy, and that his death was necessary; a
“ thousand voices were raised, and answered,
“ that acts of injustice and ungenerous actions
“ can never be useful to a great nation; and that
“ upon such pretences as that now set forth,
“ murder, poisoning, and every species of crime
“ might be justified! The following generations
“ reproached their ancestors with this base act;
“ they would have given any thing to have the
“ stain effaced from their history; and since the

“ re-establishment of letters amongst modern
“ nations, every succeeding age has added its
“ imprecations to those pronounced by Hannibal
“ at the moment when he drank the fatal cup :
“ he cursed Rome, who, whilst her fleets and le-
“ gions covered Europe, Asia, and Africa, sa-
“ tiated her vengeance against one man alone
“ and unprotected, because she feared, or pre-
“ tended to fear him.

“ The Romans, however, never violated the
“ rights of hospitality : Sylla found an asylum
“ in the house of Marius. Flaminius did not,
“ before he banished Hannibal, receive him on
“ board his ship and declare that he had orders
“ to treat him favourably ; the Roman fleet did
“ not convey him to the Port of Ostia ; and Han-
“ nibal, instead of placing himself under the pro-
“ tection of the Romans, preferred trusting his
“ person to a King of Asia. At the moment
“ when he was banished, he was not under the
“ protection of the Roman flag ; he was under
“ the banners of a king who was an enemy of
“ Rome.

“ If, in future ages, a King of England should
“ be one day brought before the awful tribunal
“ of his nation, his defenders will urge in his
“ favour the sacred character of a king, the
“ respect due to the throne, to all crowned
“ heads, to the anointed of the Lord !- But his
“ accusers will have a right to answer thus :

“ ‘ One of the ancestors of this King, whom you
“ defend, banished a man that was his guest,
“ in time of peace ; afraid to put him to death
“ in the presence of a nation governed by po-
“ sitive laws and by regular and public forms,
“ he caused his victim to be exposed in the most
“ insalubrious point of a rock situated in another
“ hemisphere in the midst of the ocean, where
“ this guest perished after a long agony, a prey
“ to the climate, to want, to insults of every
“ kind ! Yet that guest was also a great sove-
“ reign raised to the throne on the shields of
“ thirty-six millions of citizens ; he was master
“ of almost every Capital of Europe, the greatest
“ Kings composed his court ; he was generous
“ towards all ; he was during twenty years the
“ arbitrator of nations ; his family was allied to
“ every reigning family, even to that of England ;
“ he was twice the anointed of the Lord ; twice
“ consecrated by the august ceremonies of re-
“ ligion !!! ”

This passage is certainly very fine, by its truth, its diction, and above all, by its historical riches.

The Emperor always dictated without the least preparation. I never saw him, on any occasion, make any research respecting our history or that of any other nation ; and yet no man ever quoted history more faithfully, more *apropos*, or more frequently. One might have supposed that he knew history by quotations only, and

that these quotations occurred to him as by inspiration. And here I must be allowed to mention a fact which has often struck me, and which I never could satisfactorily account for to myself; but it is so very remarkable, and I have witnessed it so often, that I cannot pass it in silence. It is that Napoleon seems to possess a stock of information on several points, which remains within him, in reserve as it were, to burst forth with splendour on remarkable occasions, and which in his moments of carelessness appears to be not only slumbering, but almost unknown to him altogether. With respect to history, for instance, how often has it happened to him to ask me whether Saint-Louis had reigned before or after Philippe-le-Bel, and other questions of the same kind. But if the occasion offered, when his moment came, then he would quote without hesitation, and with the most minute details; and when it has sometimes happened to me to be in doubt, and to go and verify, I have always found him to have been right and most scrupulously exact; I have never been able to detect him in error.

Another singular peculiarity in him of the same kind is this:—In his common intercourse of life, and his familiar conversation, the Emperor mutilated the names most familiar to him, even ours; yet I do not think that this would have happened to him on a public occasion. I have

heard him many times; during our walks, repeat the celebrated speech of Augustus; and he has never missed saying, "Take a seat, Sylla*." He would frequently create names of persons according to his fancy; and when he had once adopted them, they remained fixed in his mind, although we pronounced them as they should be, a hundred times in the day, within his hearing; but he would have been struck if we had used them as he had altered them. It was the same thing with respect to orthography: in general, he did not attend to it; yet, if our copies had contained any faults of spelling, he would have complained of it. One day the Emperor said to me, "You do not write orthographically, do you?" This question gave rise to a sarcastic smile from a bystander, who thought it was meant to convey a reproach. The Emperor, who saw this, continued:—"At least, I suppose you do not; for a man occupied with public or other important business, a minister for instance, cannot, and need not, attend to orthography. His ideas must flow faster than his hand can trace; he has only time to place his points; he must put words in letters, and phrases in words; and let the scribes make it out afterwards."—The Emperor left a great deal for the copyists to do; he was their torment: his hand-writing ac-

* Instead of Cinna, in Corneille's tragedy of *Cinna*, act v. scene 1st.—*Eng. Ed.*

tually formed hieroglyphics; he often could not decipher it himself. My son was one day reading to him a chapter of the Campaign of Italy; on a sudden he stopped short, unable to make out the writing. "The little blockhead," said the Emperor, "cannot read his own hand-writing!" "It is not mine, Sire." "And who's, then?" "Your Majesty's." "How so, you little rogue; do you mean to insult me?" The Emperor took the manuscript, tried a long while to read it, and at last threw it down, saying, "He is right: I cannot tell myself what is written."—He has often sent the copyists to me, to try to read to them what he had himself been unable to decipher.

The Emperor accounted for the clearness of his ideas, and the facility he possessed of being able to protract the duration of his application to the utmost, by saying that the different affairs were put up in his head as in a closet. "When I wish to interrupt an affair," said he, "I close the drawer which contains it, and I open that which contains another. They do not mix together, and do not fatigue me nor inconvenience me." He had never been kept awake, he said, by an involuntary preoccupation of mind. "If I wish to sleep, I shut up all the drawers, and I am asleep." So that he had always, he added, slept when he wanted rest, and almost at will.

My Atlas.—Predestination, &c.—The Governor makes fruitless attempts to be received by the Emperor.

Tuesday, 1st October.—When I entered the Emperor's room, he had my Atlas in his hands. He turned over several of the genealogical maps, whose relation and correspondence with each other he now understands remarkably well. On closing the book he said, "What a concatenation! "how each part results from and corroborates "what goes before it! How every part unfolds "itself and remains fixed in the mind! Las "Cases, if you had done nothing more than point "out the true method for instruction, you would "still have rendered a most essential service. "Every one may now clothe the skeleton as they "like; it will, no doubt, be improved upon, but "the first conception is yours," &c.

Amongst the numerous subjects of conversation which followed, predestination was mentioned. The Emperor made many remarkable observations on that subject; amongst others, "Pray," said he, "am I not said to be given to "the belief in predestination?"—"Yes, Sire, "at least by many people." "Well, well! let "them say on; one may sometimes be tempted "to imitate, and it may occasionally be useful. . . "But what are men! . . . How much easier it is "to occupy their attention, and to strike their "imaginations, by absurdities than by rational

“ ideas ! But can a man of sound sense listen
“ for one moment to such a doctrine ? Either
“ predestination admits the existence of free will,
“ or it rejects it. If it admits it, what kind of
“ predetermined result can that be which a sim-
“ ple determination, a stop, a word may alter or
“ modify, *ad infinitum* ? If predestination, on the
“ contrary, rejects the existence of free will, it
“ is quite another question ; in that case a child
“ need only be thrown into its cradle as soon as
“ it is born ; there is no necessity for bestowing
“ the least care upon it ; for if it be irrevocably
“ determined that it is to live, it will grow
“ though no food should be given to it. You
“ see that such a doctrine cannot be maintained ;
“ predestination is but a word without meaning.
“ The Turks themselves, the patrons of predesti-
“ nation, are not convinced of the doctrine,
“ or medicine would not exist in Turkey ; and
“ a man residing in a third floor, would not
“ take the trouble to go down by the longer way
“ of the stairs, he would immediately throw him-
“ self out of the window : you see to what a
“ string of absurdities that will lead,” &c. &c.

At about three o'clock the Emperor was told that the Governor wished to communicate to him some instructions which he had just received from London. The Emperor replied that he was unwell, that the instructions might be sent to him, or communicated to some one of his suite ;

but the Governor insisted on being admitted, saying that he wished to communicate directly with the Emperor; he added, that he had also a few words to say to us in private, after having spoken to *the General*. The Emperor again refused; upon which the Governor retired, saying that he begged he might be informed when he *could* see *the General*. This period may be distant indeed; the Emperor, with whom I was at that moment, having said to me, that he was determined never to receive him again.

After dinner the Emperor had Buffon and Valmont de Bomare brought to him. He looked at what these authors say respecting the diversities in the human species, the difference between a negro and a white; but he was not much satisfied with what he found in them on the subject. He retired early into his apartment: he was unwell.

• 2d.—The Emperor having told me that he was determined to apply again to the study of English, and that I must oblige him every morning to take his lesson, I accordingly went to his apartment at about half-past twelve. I was not fortunate in the choice of the moment, for he was lying on his sofa asleep after his breakfast. I must have vexed him, and was very much vexed myself. However, he would not let me go away, and read a little English for about half an hour. He was not very well. He dressed. Having told him that we were ready with what he had given

us to do, he at first proposed to go to work on the chapters of the Campaign of Italy; but he afterwards altered his mind, and was busied the whole day on something else.

. At about five o'clock he attempted to walk out, but found the weather too cold. After dinner he tried to read; but in vain; he could not go on: he felt tired, sleepy, indisposed, and withdrew almost immediately.

*Jurisprudence; Code; Merlin, &c.—Monuments in Egypt.
—Plan to erect an Egyptian Temple in Paris.*

3d.—After breakfast the Emperor took two or three turns in the garden. We were all with him. He spoke of the communications which the Governor had to make to us, and took a review of the different conjectures—some good, some bad—which each of us formed on the subject. The weather was tolerable; he ordered the calash, and we went round the wood. The heat and the heaviness of the atmosphere, though the sun was obscured, obliged him to go into the house again. He sat down and dictated to my son, until five o'clock.

We again tried to take a few turns in the garden; but the air was cold and damp. He went indoors again, and made me go to converse with him. He turned over an English book, and stopped at a part relating to jurisprudence, and the criminal codes of France and England, en-

deavouring to compare them. Every body knows how extremely well versed he is in our codes; but he has little knowledge of those of England, and, with the exception of some general points, I could not answer his questions. In the course of the conversation he said: "Laws which in theory are a model of clearness, become too often a chaos in their application; because men, with their passions, spoil every thing they touch, &c. . . . Men can only avoid being exposed to the arbitrary acts of the judge, by submitting to the despotism of the law, &c. . . . I had at first fancied it would be possible to reduce all laws to simple geometrical demonstrations; so that every man who could read, and connect two ideas together, would be able to decide for himself: but I became convinced, almost immediately after, that this idea was absurd. However," added he, "I should have wished to start from some fixed point, and follow one road known to all; have no other laws but those inserted in the code, and proclaim, once for all, that all laws that were not in the code were null and void. But it is not easy to obtain simplicity from practical lawyers: they first prove to you that simplicity is impossible, that it is a mere chimera; and endeavour next to demonstrate that it is incompatible with the stability and the existence of power. Power, they say, is exposed

“ alone to the unexpected machinations of all ;
“ it must therefore have, in the moment of need,
“ arms kept in reserve for unforeseen cases : so
“ that, with some old edicts of Chilperic or
“ Pharamond brought forward for the occasion,”
said Napoleon, “ nobody can say that he is
“ secure from being hanged in due form and
“ according to law.

“ So long as the subjects of discussion in the
“ Council of State,” said the Emperor, “ were
“ referable to the code, I felt very strong ; but
“ when they diverged from it, I was quite in the
“ dark, and *Merlin* was then my resource—he
“ was my light. Without possessing much bril-
“ liancy, *Merlin* is very learned, wise, upright,
“ and honest ; a veteran of the good old cause :
“ he was very much attached to me.

“ No sooner had the code made its appear-
“ ance, than it was almost immediately fol-
“ lowed by commentaries, explanations, eluci-
“ dations, interpretations, and the Lord knows
“ what besides. I usually exclaimed, on seeing
“ this : Gentlemen, we have cleaned the stable
“ of Augeas ; for God’s sake do not let us fill it
“ up again !” &c.

During the dinner the Emperor made some very remarkable observations respecting Egypt, which will be found in the chapters dictated to Bertrand. The Emperor thought that all he had seen in Egypt, and, particularly, all those cele-

brated ruins so much talked of, were not to be compared with Paris and the Tuileries. The only difference between Egypt and us was, in his opinion, that Egypt, thanks to the pureness of its air and the nature of its materials, preserved her ruins for ever; whereas the nature of our European atmosphere would not admit of our having any for any length of time, every thing being soon corroded and gone.

Vestiges of a thousand years' date might be found on the banks of the Nile; but not one would subsist on the banks of the Seine after fifty years. He, however, regretted very much that he had not caused an Egyptian temple to be erected at Paris: he should have wished to have adorned the capital with such a monument, &c.

Resources during the emigration; anecdotes, &c.—Official Communications.—New offences.

4th.—At about twelve o'clock I went to the Emperor's apartment. He took a good lesson of English in Telemachus: he resolved to take up my method again; he approves of it, he said, and derives great benefit from it. He observed that he thought I had excellent dispositions for being a very good schoolmaster; I told him it was the fruit of my experience. He then made me enter into a great many details respecting the time when I gave lessons in London, during my emi-

gration, and he was very much amused by them. "However," said he, "you, gentlemen, must have done credit to the profession, if not by your learning, at least, by your manners." I then told him that one of our Princes had taught mathematics during his emigration. "And this alone," said he, with animation, "would make a man of him, and shew him to have possessed some merit; that is assuredly one of the greatest triumphs of Madame de Genlis."

I then related to him the following curious anecdote, which I had heard on that subject. "The Prince was in Switzerland; and being so circumstanced as to find it advisable to conceal his existence, he wished to take a name that might favour his disguise. One of our Bishops, of the South of France, fancied that nothing could be better than to give him the name of a young man from Languedoc then at Nismes, who was a very zealous Protestant; which was just as it ought to be, the Prince being in a Protestant canton. The Bishop added, that there was no appearance that the young man would ever be in the way to falsify the Prince's assumption of his name. But it had so happened that the young man had gone into the army, and had become an aide-de-camp to M. de Montesquieu, and that shortly after he had emigrated precisely into Switzerland with his general. What was his sur-

“prise to find himself at the *table d’hôte*, at dinner
“with a person of his own name, of the same
“religion, and who belonged to the same town !
“It was quite like the scene of the two *Sosias*.*
“But the best of the joke was, that the young
“man had also changed his name, and carefully
“concealed himself. Such incidents are only
“to be met with in novels; they are thought
“of impossible occurrence. Perhaps the present
“story has been rather embellished; yet, I think,
“I can affirm that I heard it from the young man
“himself.”

“But,” observed the Emperor afterwards,
“those amongst you emigrants who had found
“resources abroad, must have found themselves
“quite lost when they returned to France, and
“ruined once more?”—“Certainly, Sire; for we
“found nothing of what we had formerly left in
“France, and we had just abandoned the little we
“had earned since. But we had not calculated :
“our impatience to revisit our native land had
“overbalanced every other consideration, and
“several amongst us soon found themselves in
“the greatest distress, in want of every thing,
“although acquainted and even intimate with
“many of the great personages of the day—with
“your ministers, Sire, your counsellors of state,
“and others. This circumstance gave rise to a

* In Moliere's Comedy of *Amphitryon*. *Eng. Ed.*

“ *bon mot* from one of our *wits*—meeting one
“ day, in the saloon of the Minister for mari-
“ time affairs, a friend who like himself hardly
“ knew how to manage to subsist, he exclaimed
“ by way of consolation: Well, my friend, if we
“ die of hunger, we may still have two or three
“ ministers at our funeral.” The Emperor
laughed heartily at the jest, and admitted that
it gave an exact description of the situation
of affairs at the time.

After his lesson of English, and the conversation which followed, the Emperor went out to take a walk. We walked to the end of the wood, where the calash drove up to us.

On the Emperor's return, the Doctor came to inform him that Colonel Reade, whom he had consented to receive in lieu of the Governor, wished to be presented to him. Colonel Reade delivered to the Emperor a note of considerable length; and I was sent for to translate it. It contained the communications which Sir Hudson Lowe had for three or four days past been vainly endeavouring to make in person. The note was couched in the most offensive terms, and the Governor wished to have reserved to himself the satisfaction of communicating its contents to the Emperor. This is a characteristic trait, and it requires no comment. The note will be found among the official docu-

ments, and I shall recur to it whenever it produces any result.* The harsh terms in which it was expressed, and in particular the repeated threat that we should be separated from the Emperor, vexed us exceedingly, and put us out of spirits for the remainder of the day.

The Emperor reads my Journal, and dictates to me.—Conference between the Grand Marshal and the Governor.

5th.—At an early hour this morning, before I had risen, I heard some one softly open my chamber-door. My apartment is so encumbered with my own bed and that of my son, that it is no easy matter to enter it. I perceived a hand drawing aside my bed-curtain: it was the Emperor's. I was reading a book of geometry, a circumstance which amused him very much, and, as he said, saved my reputation. I instantly rose, and soon rejoined the Emperor, who was proceeding to the wood alone. He conversed for

* The reader will have observed that I frequently refer to the official documents. If they were not inserted here it is not my fault. At Longwood the Emperor directed me to take charge of them, and to range them in their proper order; this collection might be said to be our archives. I relied on being able to refer to them in case of need. However, at the time of my removal and the seizure of my papers by Sir Hudson Lowe, I was deprived of these documents, and it is now out of my power to procure them.

a considerable time on the events of the preceding day. He then returned to the house for the purpose of taking a bath: he was very ill, and had passed a bad night.

He sent for me at one o'clock. He was in the drawing-room, and he expressed a wish to take his English lesson. The weather was very hot and close. The Emperor felt languid and dispirited; he could not bend his mind to study, and several times fell asleep. At length he rose, saying he was determined to shake off his lethargy, and he proceeded to the billiard-room to breathe a little fresh air.

Conversing on the subject of the Campaigns of Italy, he inquired what I had done with the first rough draughts, observing that all the chapters had been several times re-copied. I told him that I had carefully preserved them. He desired to have all the manuscripts brought to him, and laying aside two complete copies, he sent the rest into the kitchen to be burnt.

I have already several times mentioned that the Emperor knew I kept a Journal. This was a secret, and therefore he never spoke to me on the subject, except when we happened to be alone together. He often asked me whether I still continued my Journal, and what I could find to set down in it. "Sire," I replied, "all that your Majesty does and says, from morning to night."

“Then,” said he, “you must have a monstrous deal of repetition, and must tell many useless things! But no matter, go on, some day we will look it over together.”

When he visited my chamber, he frequently found the faithful Aly engaged in re-copying my Journal; for he had kindly offered to employ himself in this way, during his leisure hours. The Emperor sometimes cast his eyes upon Aly's writing, and after reading a few lines, that is to say, as soon as he ascertained what it was, he would turn away and speak about something else, without ever alluding to the subject. This is precisely what had occurred this morning; and the Emperor, recollecting the circumstance, said that he wished at length to have a sight of this famous *jumble of trifles*. My son brought a portion of the manuscript, and the Emperor spent upwards of two hours in perusing it. The introduction, which relates to myself personally, fixed his attention; he read it over twice, and then said: “Well, very well; this is a fine inheritance for little Emanuel.” As to the Journal, he approved of its form and general plan. He made several corrections with his own hand, on those parts which related to his family and his childhood. He desired my son to take the pen, and he dictated to him some details respecting Brienne, Father Patrault, &c. When he had

done, he desired me to continue my labours, as he was pleased with them; and he promised to furnish me with many anecdotes, particularly concerning Alexander and the other sovereigns.

He afterwards took a drive in the calash, in which I accompanied him, and the Journal again became the topic of conversation. The Emperor said a great deal on the subject, and expressed himself very much pleased with the idea. He gave me several hints respecting it, and concluded by observing, that from the peculiar circumstances under which it was produced, it might become a work truly unique in its character, and an invaluable treasure to his son.

On our return to Longwood, we found the Grand Marshal, who had just returned from Plantation House, where he had been to hold a conference on the subject of the communications of yesterday. We anxiously awaited the answer he might bring back. He informed us that a proposition had been made, which was nothing less than that four of us should be separated from the Emperor. There were many other minor points of a very vexatious nature; but this one caused us to lose sight of all the rest. The Governor had, however, finally agreed to remove only the Pole and three of the domestics. According to the report of the Grand Marshal, I was the individual upon whom the storm had lowered, of whom the Governor most particularly com-

plained, and whose removal, he said, he should certainly have decided upon, had he not thought me too useful to the Emperor. He complained that I was constantly writing to Europe, declaiming against the government and the injustice and oppression which I alleged were exercised towards us. His other subjects of complaint were, that I spoke of the Emperor to the strangers who visited Longwood in such a way as to excite their interest; that I was constantly endeavouring to establish communications with different individuals on the island (and he mentioned the instance of Mrs. Sturmer); that I had addressed, or endeavoured to transmit, various documents to Europe, &c. However, after having spoken of me in the most angry terms, for some reason or other, he endeavoured to soften down what he had said by a few complimentary observations. He remarked, that he could scarcely have expected such conduct in a man possessing so much information, and whose good character was established throughout Europe.

After dinner the Emperor amused himself by solving some problems in geometry and algebra: this, he said, reminded him of his youthful days; and it surprised us all to find that the subjects were still so fresh in his recollection.

Peculiar circumstance connected with my Journal.—The empire of opinion.—Talma, Crescentini, &c.

6th—7th. During these two days, a circumstance has occurred, which is so nearly connected with the nature of the present work, that I cannot omit noticing it. I mentioned, a little further back, that the Emperor had expressed himself well satisfied with my journal: he alluded to it several times in the course of the day, assuring me that he should feel a great pleasure in perusing and correcting it. This information, as may be supposed, was highly gratifying to me. The moment which I had so long and ardently looked for had at length arrived. That which I had hastily, and, perhaps, inaccurately collected, was now about to receive an inestimable correction and sanction. Imperfect points would be developed, chasms filled up, and obscurities explained. What a fund of historical truths and political secrets was I about to receive? Elated by these expectations, I the first day presented myself to the Emperor at the usual hour, having my journal with me; but he began to dictate to me on a totally different subject, and I was obliged to yield to the disappointment. Next day, the same thing occurred again. I now wished to call the Emperor's attention to my journal; but he did not

appear to understand me, and I took the hint. I know Napoleon so well! He possesses in the highest degree the art of not seeming to understand; he resorts to it frequently and always for some particular object. In the present instance I understood him sufficiently, and I did not again attempt to draw his attention to the subject. At first I was much puzzled to guess the motive that had induced him to act thus; and I made several conjectures which have probably occurred to the reader, as well as to myself. A few days afterwards I was forced away from him, though I had not the least cause in the world to anticipate this fatal event.

I have dwelt on this circumstance with scrupulous exactness, because I conceive it affords a new guarantee of my sincerity, and serves to explain precisely the nature of my journal. Of the great bulk of its contents, and in particular the important events described in it, no doubt can be entertained. Some involuntary errors may, however, have crept into the details, from the hasty manner in which they were collected, and from my being deprived of the advantage of having the manuscript revised by the only individual who was capable of correcting its inaccuracies.

The Emperor, while he was dressing and wait

ing for the Grand Marshal to take his turn in writing, amused himself by conversing on different subjects.

He spoke of the influence of opinion, to which he so frequently alludes. He traced its secret progress, its uncertainty and the caprice of its decisions. He then adverted to the natural delicacy of the French, which he said was exquisite in matters of decorum, the laudable susceptibility of our manners, and the graceful action and gentleness of touch which authority must employ, if an attempt be made to interfere with the national feeling.

“In conformity with my system,” observed he, “of amalgamating all kinds of merit, and of rendering one and the same reward universal, I had an idea of presenting the cross of the legion of honour to Talma; but I refrained from doing this, in consideration of our capricious manners and absurd prejudices. I wished to make a first experiment in an affair that was out of date and unimportant, and I accordingly gave the iron crown to Crescentini. The decoration was foreign, and so was the individual on whom it was conferred. This circumstance was less likely to attract public notice or to render my conduct the subject of discussion; at worst, it could only give rise to a few malicious jokes. Such,” continued the Emperor, “is

“ the influence of public opinion. I distributed
“ sceptres at will, and thousands readily bow-
“ ed beneath their sway; and yet I could
“ not give away a ribbon without the chance
“ of incurring disapprobation; for I believe
“ my experiment, with regard to Crescentini,
“ proved unsuccessful.” “ It did, Sire,” ob-
served some one present. “ The circumstance
“ occasioned a great outcry in Paris; it drew
“ forth a general anathema in all the draw-
“ ing-rooms of the metropolis, and afforded
“ ample scope for the expression of malignant
“ feeling. However, at one of the evening
“ parties of the Faubourg Saint-Germain, a
“ *bon-mot* had the effect of completely stem-
“ ming the torrent of indignation. A pompous
“ orator was holding forth, in an eloquent strain,
“ on the subject of the honour that had been
“ conferred on Crescentini. He declared it to
“ be a disgrace, a horror, a perfect profana-
“ tion, and inquired what right Crescentini
“ could have to such a distinction? On hear-
“ ing this, the beautiful Madame G . . . who was
“ present, rose majestically from her chair,
“ and, with a truly theatrical tone and gesture,
“ exclaimed, ‘ *Et sa blessure, Monsieur!* do
“ you make no allowance for that?’ This
“ produced a general burst of laughter and
“ applause, and poor Madame G

"was very much embarrassed by her success."

The Emperor, who now heard this anecdote for the first time, was highly amused by it. He often afterwards alluded to it, and occasionally related it himself.

At dinner the Emperor informed us that he had worked for twelve hours; and we observed that his day was not yet ended. He seemed to be ill and fatigued.

The Odyssey.—Combat between Ulysses and Irus.

8th.—When I entered the Emperor's apartment this morning, I found him engaged in reading the files of *Journaux des Debats*, which had lately arrived. At three o'clock he began to dress. His first valet de chambre was ill; and he observed, that those who acted as his substitutes were not equal to him in address.

The weather was tolerable, and we walked to the extremity of the wood, where the calash was to come to take us up.

I had a disposable sum of money in London, which I had conveyed thither in 1814. The recollection of the privations I had endured during my emigration, and the chance of being exposed to future want, had prompted me to this act of prudence, and I was now reaping the fruits of

it. Owing to this circumstance, I was more at my ease, as to pecuniary affairs, than any other individual of the Emperor's suite at Saint-Helena: but what led me to regard this sum as an inestimable treasure was the happiness of being able to lay it at the feet of the Emperor. I had already several times proposed that he should accept it; and I now once more repeated the offer, while I adverted to the renewed outrages which we had just experienced from the Governor. At this moment we were joined by Madame de Montholon, who had set out after us. She observed that the Emperor walked so fast, that she should certainly have lost sight of him, had not my gesticulations enabled her to keep her eye upon us; and that she had been puzzled to guess the cause of my vehemence of manner. "Madam," said the Emperor with the most captivating grace, "he has been trying to make me accept his bounty; he has been offering to support us here."

We returned almost immediately to the house, as the weather was very damp and the Emperor complained of tooth-ache. For some time past he has been troubled with a great secretion of saliva.

After dinner he resumed the reading of the *Odyssey*: we had arrived at the passage describing the combat between Ulysses and Irus, on the threshold of the palace, both in the garb

of beggars. The Emperor very much disapproved of this episode, which he pronounced to be mean, incongruous, and beneath the dignity of the King. "And yet," continued he, "independently of all the faults which, in my opinion, this incident presents, I still find in it something to interest me. I fancy myself in the situation of Ulysses, and then I can well conceive his dread of being overpowered by a wretched mendicant. Every prince or general has not the broad shoulders of his guards or grenadiers; every man has not the strength of a porter. But Homer has remedied all this by representing his heroes as so many colossi: we have no such heroes now-a-days. What would become of us," he added, glancing round at us all, "if we lived in those good times when bodily vigour constituted real power? Why, Noverraz (his valet-de-chambre) would wield the sceptre over us all. It must be confessed that civilization favours the mind entirely at the expense of the body."

The Pole arrested by the Governor.—The Emperor's Reflections on his Son and on Austria.—New Vexations.—Remarks on Lord Bathurst.—Observations dictated by Napoleon.

9th.—As we were walking to come up with the calash, we received information that the Pole had just been put under arrest by the Governor.

This was, of course, merely a first step—a warning of what we all had to expect. Intimidation seems to be the system to which the Governor has resorted since the arrival of his last instructions, which he endeavours to fulfil to the utmost of his ingenuity. We shall see how far he will go.

When I waited on the Emperor, before dinner, I found him dull and apparently absent of mind. The conversation led him to mention Austria, and he alluded to the wrongs which he had received from that power, and the errors of her policy. He described the weakness of the Monarch, who, he said, had never evinced energy except when it tended to ruin him in the estimation of his subjects. He dwelt on the venality and want of principle which distinguished the men who had advised and executed the measures of the Austrian cabinet. He spoke of the blind policy of Austria, and described her dangerous situation. “She now stands,” said he, “in the most imminent peril, advancing to meet the embraces of a colossus in her front, while she cannot recede a single step, because an abyss is yawning on her flank and rear.”

This turn of the conversation naturally led the Emperor to speak of his son. “What education will they give him?” said he. “What sort of principles will they ingraft in his youthful mind? On the other hand, if he should prove

“weak in intellect—if he should bear any resemblance to the !—
“if they should inspire him with hatred of his father! These thoughts fill me with horror!
“and where is the antidote to all this? Henceforth there can be no certain medium of communication—no faithful tradition between him and me! At best my Memoirs, or perhaps your Journal, may fall into his hands. But to subdue the false precepts imbibed in early life, to counteract the errors of a bad education, requires a certain capacity, a certain strength of mind and decision of judgment which fall not to the share of every one.” He appeared deeply affected; and after a pause of a few moments, he said suddenly and with emphasis, “But let us talk of something else;” however he still continued silent. I sat down to write, and after an hour or two the Grand Marshal came and took my place.

Just after I had quitted the Emperor’s apartments, I was again sent for to translate to him a large packet of papers which had been received from the Governor. The state of my eyes, which are now altogether failing me, obliged me to avail myself of M. de Montholon’s assistance in reading the papers. Their contents were first:—Some of the new restrictions that have been imposed on us, in which the Emperor is treated in a way that may be termed curious; for inde-

cency and indecorum are carried so far as to prescribe the nature and limits of the conversations which he is to be permitted to hold. This will scarcely be credited ! But I shall presently insert these restrictions in their literal form.

The packet next contained the form of the declaration which was presented for our signature. This was merely a series of arbitrary and useless vexations, heightened by every irritating circumstance that vengeance could suggest.

Finally there was a letter from the Governor to the Grand Marshal, founded on the note presented by Colonel Reade, which I translated to the Emperor, and which the colonel had refused to leave behind him ; the reader will recollect my having already noticed it. However, in the letter now transmitted to the Emperor certain essential points were very ingeniously suppressed or modified : the Emperor frequently remarked, that the Governor possesses a peculiar talent for business of this sort. I will here retrace this note from recollection. Though I read it only once, namely, at the time when I translated it to the Emperor, yet I think I can vouch for the following being an accurate representation of its contents.

“ The Frenchmen who wished to remain with General Bonaparte, were required to sign the formula which should be presented to them, and by which they would subject themselves to all

the restrictions imposed on the General. This obligation was to be regarded as perpetual. Those who should refuse to enter into this agreement were to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope. Four individuals were to be deducted from the suite of General Bonaparte. Those who might remain were to be considered as though they were Englishmen by birth, and to be subject to the laws established for securing the safe custody of General Bonaparte; that is to say, they would incur the punishment of death by conniving at his escape. Any Frenchman who might use insulting language or reflections, or behave so as to give offence to the Governor, or the Government, would be immediately removed to the Cape of Good Hope, without being provided with the means of returning to Europe : but the whole expense of the voyage devolving on himself."

During dinner, and the greater part of the evening, these documents became the subject of conversation. We were much amused by that passage in the Governor's letter, which transmitted the ministerial instructions, and informed us, that those who might be wanting in respect for the Governor, or render themselves obnoxious, would be removed to the Cape, and the expense attending their return to Europe was to be defrayed by themselves. We thought this very droll, and

the Emperor said, "Of course this threat appears to you very extraordinary and ridiculous; but no doubt it was perfectly natural to Lord Bathurst. I dare say he could not imagine a more terrible punishment. It is a true shopkeeper idea!"

The Emperor concluded the evening by reading to us *Adelaide Duguesclin*, which contains a fine *rodomantade* upon the Bourbons.

After reading it, the Emperor said, "During the time of my power, an order was given for suppressing the performance of this drama, under the idea that it would be offensive to me. This circumstance accidentally came to my knowledge, and I ordered the piece to be revived. Many things of the same kind took place; people often acted very unwisely under the idea that they were serving or pleasing me."

N. B. I transcribe here the restrictions to which I lately alluded. They are curious in themselves, and will serve better than volumes of description, to give a just idea of our situation; but what enhances the value of this document is, that the observations, which accompany each article, were made by the Emperor himself.

RESTRICTIONS drawn up by Sir Hudson Lowe, and transmitted to Longwood on the 19th of October, 1816, but which he had already put into execution by different secret orders, since the

preceding month of August, though he never communicated them to the English officers on duty, doubtless, because he was ashamed of them.

TEXT OF THE RESTRICTIONS.

“1st.—Longwood, with the road by Hut’s Gate, along the hill, as far as the signal-post near Alarm-House, are to be fixed as boundaries.”

OBSERVATION. Sir Hudson Lowe’s predecessor had extended the boundary line to the summits of the hills; but in about a fortnight after, he perceived that by removing the sentinels to a little further distance, the house and garden of Secretary-general Brook, would be included within the boundaries, and he immediately gave orders for the change.

At about forty fathoms from the road-side is Corbett’s garden, which contains about eight or ten oak trees and a fountain; thus affording a cool and agreeable shade. According to the new restrictions, in which only the high road is specified, a line is substituted for a surface, and the secretary’s house and Corbett’s garden are excluded from the boundaries.

“2d.—Sentinels will mark the boundary lines, which nobody must pass to approach the house or grounds of Longwood, without the Governor’s permission.”

OBSERVATION. By the regulations which were first laid down, respecting our establishment at

Saint-Helena, and which were approved by the English Governor, persons were admitted to Longwood in the following manner: The Governor, the Admiral, the Colonel commanding the regiment and the camp, the two members of the East India Company's Council, and the Secretary-general, who were the persons highest in authority on the island, might pass the line of sentinels without any order or permission whatever. The inhabitants of the island were required to have a pass from the Governor; sailors to be furnished with one from their admiral, and soldiers with one from their colonel; and finally, the inhabitants, sailors, and officers might all come to Longwood by the permission of Count Bertrand, when the Emperor wished to receive them. This arrangement, which continued for eight months, was attended by no inconvenience. By the present regulation (which has been in force since the month of August, though it was not formally communicated to us until we were furnished with the list of new restrictions,) we may be said to be kept in solitary confinement, and cut off from all intercourse with the inhabitants. The latter, the officers and seamen are all equally averse to the idea of being obliged to solicit the Governor's permission to visit Longwood, and to subject themselves to an interrogatory respecting the motive of their visit. Strangers, whether civil or military, officers,

who might touch at Saint-Helena on their passage from India, and who might be desirous of seeing the Emperor, usually applied to Count Bertrand, who appointed the day and the hour when they would be received. During their stay in the island they were regarded as citizens, and with the permission of Count Bertrand, they might when they pleased visit Longwood; and it may once more be observed, that this arrangement subsisted for eight months without being attended by any inconvenience. If any strangers touching at the island, might excite the suspicion of the Governor, he could prevent them from landing, or passing the first post. Finally, the Governor, by the report of the sentinels, was daily made acquainted with the names of the individuals who visited Longwood. But in the month of August, the Governor sought to impose on us the obligation of receiving strangers, to whom he wished to render himself agreeable, and also of receiving them at the time he might think proper to appoint. This was giving the finishing stroke to all his offensive conduct! To put a stop to all these insults, the Emperor found himself obliged to declare that he would in future receive no one.

- " 3d.—The road to the left of Hut's-Gate, which turns off by Woodbridge to Longwood, never having been frequented by General Bonaparte since the arrival of the Governor; the post

by which it was observed will be in a great measure withdrawn. But whenever the General may wish to ride on horseback in this direction, on giving timely notice to the officer he will experience no obstacle."

OBSERVATION.—In the first observation it was proved that the limits had been contracted in this quarter; and, by this third article, they are still more circumscribed. To say that the valley has not been frequented for six months, is a strange reason for adopting this decision. It is certainly true, that Napoleon has for several months declined going out, in consequence of the harassing conduct of the Governor; but it must also be observed, that one part of the valley is not accessible in rainy weather, and that in the other part a camp has been formed. Yet Lord Bathurst stated, in his speech in parliament, that "this road had been prohibited when it was found that he (General Bonaparte) had abused the confidence that had been reposed in him, and had endeavoured to corrupt the inhabitants of the island." But here Lord Bathurst contradicts Sir Hudson Lowe. The offer of permission to ride in the valley, whenever it may be wished, is a mere pretence; the forms prescribed for the attainment of this permission render it impossible. This offer never has been, and never can be, fulfilled. The ride in the valley being thus prohibited, it has become im-

possible to visit Miss Mason's garden, in which there are some large trees which afford agreeable shade. Within the boundaries to which the captives are now restricted, there is not a single spot in which they can enjoy the sight of trees or water: sentinels are posted at different distances throughout the boundaries; and, under the pretence of misunderstanding in the orders, &c., any individual may be arrested. This has frequently happened to the French officers.

"4th. If he (General Bonaparte) should wish to prolong his ride in any other directions, an officer of the Governor's staff (if he receive timely notice) will be in readiness to attend him. If the notice should be short, the officer on duty at Longwood may take place of the staff-officer.

"The inspecting officer has orders not to approach General Bonaparte, at least unless he be asked for; and not to watch him in his rides, except so far as his duty requires; that is to say, he must observe that the established rules are not violated; and if they should be transgressed, he must intimate the circumstance in a respectful way."

OBSERVATION.—This regulation is useless. The Emperor will not go out so long as he sees there is a wish to subject him to direct and public inspection. Besides, the staff-officers

have orders to report all that the French may say when in conversation with them. This affords opportunities for calumny. Several English officers have refused to act this dishonourable part, declaring that they would not degrade themselves to the level of spies, and repeat the conversations that may take place in the unguarded confidence of a ride or walk.

“ 5th.—The rules already in force for preventing communications with any one whatever without the Governor’s permission must be strictly enforced. Consequently, it is requisite that General Bonaparte should abstain from entering into any conversation (except such as the interchange of customary salutations may demand) with the individuals whom he may happen to meet, unless it be in the presence of an English officer.”

OBSERVATION.—Hitherto this extremity of insult had been avoided. The Emperor does not acknowledge, either in the Governor or his agents, the right of imposing any restrictions on him. But what is the object of this article? To insult and degrade the character of the captives! —to give rise to disputes between them and the sentinels. To prohibit them from speaking to any one, or entering any house, is, in fact, a moral annulment of the circuit allowed them. This is so extraordinary, that we are now ac-

tually induced to believe, what many persons have already suspected, that Sir Hudson Lowe is occasionally subject to fits of lunacy.

“6th.—Those persons who, with the consent of General Bonaparte, may receive the Governor’s permission to visit him, must not communicate with any individual of his suite, unless a permission to that effect be specially expressed.”

OBSERVATION.—This is useless; for nobody has been received since the present Governor abolished the regulations which were established by his predecessor. However, the consequence of this restriction is, that if Napoleon should receive a stranger, as none of his officers can be present, and none of his servants in attendance, he would be reduced to the necessity of opening the doors himself. Besides, as the Emperor does not understand English, it follows, if the individual admitted to him should not speak French, that they must both remain mute, and thus the interview would be reduced to a mere exhibition.

“7th.—At sunset, the garden round Longwood is to be regarded as the extent of the boundaries. At that time sentinels will be posted at the limits of the garden; but so as not to incommode General Bonaparte by observing his motions, should he wish to continue his walks. During the night, sentinels will be stationed close to the house, as they formerly were; and all

admission must be prohibited until the sentinels are withdrawn from the house and garden on the following morning."

OBSERVATION. — During the excessively hot season, the only time when it is possible to walk is after sun set. In order to avoid meeting the sentinels, the Emperor finds it necessary to return to the house while it is still broad daylight; though the heat of the sun has rendered it impossible for him to go out during the day, as the grounds round Longwood are without shade, water, or verdure. According to this new restriction, the Emperor cannot enjoy a walk in the evening; while he is likewise deprived of the exercise of riding on horseback. He is confined in a small house, in all respects insufficient for his accommodation, badly built, unwholesomely situated, and without a supply of water; and, in addition to all this, every opportunity is taken to expose him to insult and disrespect. His constitution, though naturally robust, is very much enfeebled by the treatment he experiences.

" 8th.—Every letter for Longwood will be enclosed by the Governor in a sealed envelope, and forwarded to the officer on duty, to be delivered, sealed, to the officer of General Bonaparte's suite to whom it is addressed, who by this means will be assured that nobody except the Governor knows its contents.

" In like manner, letters from any of the re-

sidents of Longwood must be delivered to the officer on duty, enclosed in a second sealed envelope and addressed to the Governor, which will be a security that no individual except the latter can peruse its contents.

“No letter can be written or sent, and no communication of any kind whatever can be made, except in the manner above mentioned. No correspondence can be maintained with any individual in the island, except for the necessary communications to the purveyor. The notes containing these communications must be delivered open to the officer on duty, who will forward them to the proper quarter.

“The above-mentioned restrictions will be observed from the date of the 10th inst. ”

“H. LOWE.”

“*St. Helena, October 9th, 1816.*”

OBSERVATION.—This last restriction has no reference to the Emperor, who neither writes nor receives letters. A simple explanation is, therefore, all that is required. Will the observations that may be contained in the confidential letters from the Emperor's officers to their friends be regarded as offensive? When those who may read these letters shall be convinced that they are in no way hostile to the safety or policy of the state, will they forget their contents, so that they may never become the subject of conver-

sation or abuse? This explanation will decide whether all correspondence is, or is not, to be considered as prohibited. The seizure of the person of Count Las Cases completely justifies this observation.

The object of the 8th article of the restrictions, as the inquisitorial system established on the island sufficiently proves, is to prevent the European journals from giving publicity to the criminal conduct that is pursued here. A vast deal of trouble is taken to secure this object: it would have been far easier to have acted in such a way as to render concealment unnecessary. A letter addressed to Count Bertrand, dated the 1st of July, 1816, goes to still greater lengths; for it prohibits even verbal communications with the inhabitants of the island. This is the delirium of fury and hatred; or rather, it may be said to be a proof of downright madness. The regulation here alluded to is but a trifling example of the vexations to which we are exposed, and the invention of which seems to be the sole occupation of the present Governor. Can Lord Bathurst now affirm that Sir H. Lowe has made no restriction; that the instructions of the English ministry were of a nature advantageous to Napoleon and his suite, and had no other object than that of securing their safe custody? In consequence of this absurd and insulting treatment, the Emperor has not enjoyed exercise

without doors for several months. His medical attendants foresee that this confinement will prove fatal to his constitution. It is a more certain, and far more inhuman mode of assassination, than poison or the sword.

Anxiety occasioned by the new restrictions.—Anecdotes of Campo-Formio.—MM. de Cobentzel, Gallo, and Clarke. —The Count d'Antraigues.

10th.—This morning we had agreed to meet together at the Grand Marshal's, to deliberate on the restrictions which the Governor had recently transmitted to us, and to adopt a uniform resolution. I was unwell, and could not attend. I, however, wrote down my opinion: I stated, that in the delicate situation in which I was placed I could do nothing; I could arrive at no positive conclusion; I always found $0=0$.

The point in question was, indeed, of the most serious and difficult nature. We were required to subject ourselves to new restrictions, to place ourselves under the dependence of the Governor, who shamefully abused his power, employed the most insulting language towards the Emperor, and who announced that we must submit to every grievance, under pain of being immediately separated from Napoleon, sent to the Cape, and thence to Europe.

On the other hand, the Emperor, indignant at the mortifications to which we were exposed on

his account, insisted that we should no longer submit to them. He urged us rather to quit him, and to return to Europe, to bear witness that we had seen him absolutely buried alive.

But how could we for a moment endure this thought? Death was preferable to separation from him whom we served, admired, and loved; to whom we daily became more and more attached, through his personal qualities, and the miseries which injustice and hatred had accumulated upon him. This was the real state of the question. In these distressing circumstances, we knew not what determination to adopt. I closed my letter by stating, that, if left to myself alone, I would sign, without scruple, any thing that the Governor might present to me; and that, if a collective resolution were taken, I would implicitly adopt it.

The Governor had now found out a method of attacking us in detail: he declared his intention of removing any individual of Napoleon's suite according to his will and caprice.

The Emperor was indisposed: the Doctor has observed incipient scurvy. He desired me to attend him, and we conversed on the subjects which chiefly occupied our attention at the moment. He wanted something to amuse him, and he took up the chapter of Leoben, which happened to be beside him. When he had finished reading it, the conversation turned on the con-

ferences which brought about the treaty of Campo-Formio. I refer to the chapters on that subject for the portrait and character of the first Austrian negotiator, M. de Cobentzel, whom Napoleon surnamed the "*great northern bear*," on account of the influence, which, he said, his heavy paw had exercised on the green table of the conferences.

"M. de Cobentzel was at that time," said the Emperor, "the agent of the Austrian monarchy, the main spring of its plans, and the director of its diplomacy. He had been appointed on all the principal European embassies, and had been long at the Court of Catharine, whose peculiar favour he enjoyed. Proud of his rank and importance, he doubted not that his dignified and courtly manners would easily overawe a General who had just issued from the revolutionary camp. Thus," observed Napoleon, "he shewed a want of respect in addressing the French General: but the first words uttered by the latter sufficed to reduce him to his proper level, above which he never afterwards attempted to rise."

The conferences at first proceeded very slowly; for M. de Cobentzel, according to the custom of the Austrian Cabinet, proved himself very skilful in the art of retarding business. The French General, however, determined to bring matters to an issue: the conference, which he had declared

should be the last, was maintained with great warmth. Napoleon came, resolved to have a decisive answer to his propositions; they were rejected. He then rose in a fit of passion, and exclaimed energetically: "You wish for war then?—You shall have it:" and laying his hands on a magnificent piece of porcelain, (which M. de Cobentzel used with great complacency to boast of having received as a present from the great Catharine,) he dashed it with all his force on the ground, where it was broken in a thousand pieces. "There," he exclaimed, "such, I promise you, will be the fate of your Austrian monarchy in less than three months:" and so saying, he rushed out of the apartment. M. de Cobentzel stood petrified; but M. de Gallo, who was of a more conciliatory temper, followed the French General to his carriage, endeavouring to detain him. "He almost dragged me back by main force," said the Emperor, "and with so pitiable an air, that, in spite of my apparent anger, I could not refrain from laughing in my sleeve."

M. de Gallo was the ambassador from Naples to Vienna, whither he had conducted the Neapolitan princess, the second wife of the Emperor Francis. He possessed the full confidence of the Princess, and she, in her turn, ruled her husband: thus the ambassador enjoyed great influence at the Court of Vienna. When the

army of Italy, marching on Vienna, dictated the armistice of Leoben, the Empress, at this critical juncture, cast her eyes on her confident, and charged him to avert the danger. He was to gain an interview with the French General, as if accidentally, and to endeavour to prevail on him to accept his services as a negotiator. Napoleon, who was well acquainted with every circumstance, determined to turn his knowledge to a good account. Accordingly, on receiving M. de Gallo, he inquired who he was. The favourite courtier, disconcerted to find himself under the necessity of telling his name, replied that he was the Marquess de Gallo, and that he had been charged by the Emperor of Austria to make overtures to Napoleon. "But," said the latter, "your name is not German." "True," replied M. de Gallo, "I am the Neapolitan ambassador." "And how happens it," said Napoleon drily, "that I have to treat with Naples? We are at peace. Has the Emperor of Austria no negotiators of the old school? Is the old aristocracy of Vienna extinct?" M. de Gallo, alarmed at the idea of such observations being officially communicated to the Cabinet of Vienna, now became intent on ingratiating himself into the favour of the young General.

Napoleon enquired what news had been received from Vienna, and spoke of the armies of the Rhine, the Sambre, and the Meuse. He obtained all

the intelligence he could ; and when he was about to withdraw, M. de Gallo, in the most suppliant tone, inquired whether he might hope to be accepted as a negotiator, and whether he should proceed to Vienna to obtain full powers. Napoleon had no wish to decline this proposal ; he had gained an advantage which he was not willing to lose. M. de Gallo, who subsequently became ambassador from Naples to the First Consul, and also ambassador from Joseph to the Emperor Napoleon, frequently mentioned this scene, and frankly avowed that he had never been so frightened in the whole course of his life.

In the French negotiations, Clarke acted the same kind of secondary part which M. de Gallo maintained with regard to Austria. " Clarke," said the Emperor, " had been sent to Italy by " the Directory, which had begun to consider me " as dangerous. He was charged with an ostensible and public mission ; but he had secret " orders to keep an eye upon me, and to ascertain if, in case of necessity, it would be " possible to arrest me. But little reliance " could have been placed on the officers of my " army, in an affair of this kind, and therefore " the first inquiries were addressed to the Cisalpine Directory. The answer was, that it " would be as well to spare trouble on this " point, and to give up all idea of it. As soon

“ as I was made acquainted with Clarke’s real
“ instructions, I frankly told him all I knew;
“ at the same time assuring him that I should
“ concern myself but very little about any re-
“ ports that might be made. He was soon
“ convinced of this. When, on his mission to
“ Austria, he was dismissed by that power, I
“ offered to find employment for him, and he
“ afterwards remained with me; though perhaps
“ there was, in reality, but little sympathy be-
“ tween us. I should undoubtedly have again
“ taken him into my service, after my return, if
“ I had found him in the ranks along with the
“ rest. You know that I could not easily rid
“ myself of those to whom I had become ac-
“ customed: when people had once embarked
“ with me, I could never prevail on myself to
“ throw them overboard. Nothing but absolute
“ necessity could force me to such a course.
“ Clarke’s chief merit was that of being a good
“ man of business.”

After Brumaire, Clarke naturally came in contact with the First Consul as his aid-de-camp, &c. There was then little etiquette observed at the palace; the duties were not distinctly separated, and the whole presented a kind of family circle. The officers immediately connected with the Consul dined at a general table. Clarke, who was extremely susceptible and punctilious, got involved in

quarrels with some of these individuals. The circumstance having reached the ears of the First Consul, he appointed Clarke ambassador to Florence, to the court of the Queen of Etruria. This post was in itself highly agreeable; but Clarke had been appointed to it by way of disgrace. He urgently solicited his recall; and at length, to his great satisfaction, he received an order to return to France. But his punishment was not yet at an end. The First Consul took but little notice of him: he sent him to the Tuileries, to Saint-Cloud, and to the camp of Boulogne, without explaining his intentions, or granting him any thing. Clarke, in despair, told one of his friends that he had no alternative but to throw himself into the Seine, as he could no longer endure the contempt to which he was exposed, added to the mortification of being deprived of his situation. Just at this time he was unexpectedly made secretary of the Topographical Cabinet, a counsellor of state, and appointed to some other posts, which altogether produced him a salary of 60 or 80,000 francs. This was Napoleon's way: his first favour was usually followed immediately by several others. In these cases his bounty was overwhelming. But it was necessary to take advantage of the interval of favour; it might be endless, or it might be instantly and irretrievably lost.

I knew General Clarke well; he had been my comrade at the Military School. He informed me, that some days before the battle of Jena, the Emperor, from whose dictation he had just written numerous orders and instructions, entering into a familiar conversation, while he walked up and down his chamber, said: "In three or four days I will fight a battle, which I shall gain: it will bring me at least as far as the Elbe, and perhaps at the Vistula. There I will fight a second battle, which I shall also gain. Then "then," said he, with a meditative air, and placing his hand on his forehead "but that is enough; it is useless to invent romances. —Clarke, in a month you will be Governor of Berlin; and history will record that, in the space of one year, and in two different wars, you were Governor of Vienna and Berlin; that is to say, of the Austrian and Prussian monarchies. By the bye," continued he, smiling, "what did Francis give you for governing his capital?"—"Nothing at all, Sire."—"How, nothing at all? That was hard indeed! Well, in that case, I must pay his debt." And he gave him, as far as I can recollect, a sum sufficient to purchase a hotel in Paris, or a country house in the vicinity of the capital.

The course of events exceeded even Napoleon's expectations. He fought but one battle, which

brought him to Berlin, and enabled him to advance to the Vistula.

“ Clarke,” said Napoleon, “ possessed a strong
“ taste for family parchments. At Florence he
“ spent a great portion of his time in investigating
“ my genealogy. He also took great pains to
“ trace out his own, and I believe he at length
“ persuaded himself that he was related to the
“ whole Faubourg Saint-Germain. Doubtless he
“ has a much higher opinion of his own dignity,
“ now that he is the minister of a legitimate King,
“ than he had when he was merely the minister of
“ an upstart Emperor. It is said that he at present
“ enjoys great favour; I wish it may last. It
“ commenced a few days before my arrival in
“ Paris, when the cause of the King was desperate.
“ It certainly appeared useless to accept
“ a ministry when all was lost; but I have nothing
“ to say against that. This sort of conduct may
“ have its fair side; yet it is necessary to observe
“ some degree of decorum, and in that
“ Clarke was wholly wanting. However, I willingly
“ forgive him in all that concerns me. . . .
“ In 1813 and 1814 some persons endeavoured
“ to inspire me with doubts of Clarke’s fidelity;
“ but I never would listen to any thing of the
“ kind. I always believed him to be an honest
“ man.” The intimate friends of the Duke
de Feltre can bear witness that Napoleon was

correct in the opinion he had formed of the character of his minister.

The Duke de Feltre, on communicating to the Emperor the intelligence of the arrival of the Count d'Artois in Switzerland, advised him to make peace. Napoleon replied, under date of the 22d of February, 1814 :—"As to your advice of making peace, it is too absurd : it is by cherishing such notions as this that public spirit is destroyed. Besides, it is supposing me either mad or stupid to imagine that, if I could conclude peace, I would not immediately do it. To the prevailing notion that it has been in my power to make peace for four months past, but that I declined doing so, must be attributed all the misfortunes of France. I expected, at least, to have been spared the pain of hearing such sentiments expressed."

The Emperor, reverting to the events of Campo-Formio, alluded to the arrest of the Count d'Antraigues, the papers that were found upon him, and the discoveries to which they gave rise ; he also mentioned the indulgence which the Count experienced, and the treachery with which that indulgence was repaid.

The Count d'Antraigues, who was a man of considerable talent, fond of intrigue, and endowed with personal advantages, had acquired a certain degree of importance at the commencement of our Revolution. He was a member of the right

hand side of the Constituent Assembly, and he emigrated at the time of its dissolution. At the period when the French were about to assail Venice, the Count d'Antraigues was residing there, where he held a diplomatic appointment from the Russian Government, and was the main spring and agent of all the machinations that were plotting against France. On seeing the danger of the Venetian Republic, he attempted to escape; but he fell in with one of our posts, and was seized with all his papers. The General-in-chief appointed a special commission to examine these documents, and the secrets which they unfolded were the subject of great astonishment. They contained, among other things, full proof of the treason of Pichegru, who had sacrificed his troops to facilitate the operations of the enemy. "Pichegru," exclaimed the Emperor indignantly, "was guilty of the most odious crime that can possibly be conceived, that of coldly sacrificing the men whose lives had been entrusted to his honour and discretion."

The Count D'Antraigues, finding that all his secrets were discovered, conducted himself with so much address and apparent candour, that Napoleon, conceiving he had gained him over, or, to speak more properly, suffering himself to be gained over by the Count, treated him with the utmost indulgence. He defended him against

the proceedings of the Directory, which insisted on having him shot, and the Count was allowed to proceed to Milan on his parole. But what was Napoleon's surprise on learning that M. d'Antraigues had escaped to Switzerland, and had published an infamous libel against him, reproaching him with ill-treatment, and complaining of having been confined in chains? These falsehoods occasioned so much indignation, that several foreign diplomatists, who knew how Napoleon had really acted towards the Count, spontaneously made a public declaration of what they had witnessed.

So late as the year 1814, the Count d'Antraigues died in England, in a horrible way, being assassinated by his valet-de-chambre in the presence of his wife, who was the celebrated singer Saint-Huberti.

At the time of the seizure of the Count d'Antraigues' papers, Pichegru was at the head of the Legislative Body, and was almost at open war with the Directory. It may well be supposed that the members of the Directory were highly gratified by thus obtaining important and authentic documents against their adversaries. This discovery greatly influenced Napoleon in the course which he adopted in the events of Fructidor: it was one of the principal causes of his famous proclamation, which brought about the triumph of the Directory.

Desaix, who was serving under Moreau in the army of the Rhine, having taken advantage of the armistice to introduce himself to the General-in-chief of the army of Italy, for whom he had conceived the highest admiration, was with Napoleon at the time of the important discovery above mentioned. Napoleon having informed him of the treason of Pichegru, Desaix observed: "But we knew all this on the Rhine three months ago. A waggon, belonging to General Klinglin's corps, which fell into our hands, furnished us with all Pichegru's correspondence with the enemies of the Republic." "And did Moreau give no intimation of this to the Directory?" "No." "Then he is very blameable," exclaimed Napoleon; "when the safety of one's country is at stake, silence is guilt!" After Pichegru surrendered, Moreau communicated to the Directory all he knew respecting the conspiracy, at the same time pronouncing a severe reprobation on those who were concerned in it. "This was but another instance of misconduct," said Napoleon; "by not speaking earlier, he betrayed his country; and by speaking so late, he merely struck a blow at one who was already fallen."

The Emperor's Dream.

11th—12th. The produce of the sale of a portion of plate, amounting to 6000 francs, was

this day received. This sum the Emperor considered indispensable to make up our deficiencies at the expiration of every month; and he ordered the sale to be repeated regularly.

The Emperor continues very ill, and is in very low spirits. To-day he did not leave his room until dinner-time. He conversed very little, and did not apply himself to any kind of occupation. I remained with him the greater part of the day. He spoke frequently of the situation in which we stood with respect to the Governor, and made some very remarkable observations on that subject.

After dinner he mentioned a dream which he had had during the night. A lady with whom he had been but little acquainted (Madame Clarke, Duchess de Feltre) appeared to him in his dream, and told him she was dead, at the same time adding several observations which were expressed in language perfectly connected and intelligible. "Every thing was so clear and distinct," said the Emperor, "that it has made a forcible impression on me; so much so, that if I were really to hear of the death of the Duchess de Feltre, I must confess that my established ideas would be shaken; and perhaps," said he, smiling and looking at one of the company, "I too should become a believer in dreams and prophecies."

The Emperor ate little; his spirits were depressed, and he was evidently very ill. He retired almost immediately, and his manner affected us greatly. We could not help remarking how much he was altered.

Privations to which the Emperor is subjected.—His claims on Prince Eugene.

13th. — The Emperor came to me about ten o'clock. He looked in at my room-door, and blamed me for not having risen earlier. He found me using the foot-bath, for I was not well. I soon joined him beneath the tent, where he wished to breakfast. He told me he had given orders for drawing up some notes relative to the new restrictions, to prevent condemnation being passed on us without a sort of responsibility being attached to those who passed the sentence. He then proceeded to calculate the lots of plate which remain to be sold, and the period during which they would serve to maintain us. I repeated the offers which I have already several times made, telling him that it was hard he should be reduced to the necessity of disposing of his plate; but he replied—"My
" dear Las Cases, under whatever circumstances
" I may be placed, those articles of luxury are
" never of any importance to me; and as far as
" regards others, that is to say, as far as re-
" gards the public, simplicity will always be

" my best ornament." He added, that he could, after all, claim the assistance of Prince Eugène ; and that he was even inclined to write to him for the loans which would be necessary for his subsistence when the plate should be exhausted. He also expressed his intention of commissioning Eugène to forward to him some important books which he wished should be sent from London, together with a small quantity of choice wine, which it was necessary he should take as a medicine. " This commission for wine," said he, " will make our enemies in Europe say that we " think of nothing here but eating and drinking." He said he should feel no hesitation in addressing himself on this subject to Eugène, who owed to him every thing he possessed ; and that it would be insulting the character of the Prince to doubt his readiness to serve him, particularly as he had, besides, a legal claim upon him for about ten or twelve millions.

• While we were at breakfast the Emperor sent for the Pole, who is soon to leave us. After breakfast he wished to employ himself in reading or dictating ; but he felt very drowsy, and fell asleep several times. He retired to his chamber to lie down for a while, desiring me to attend him at one o'clock for his English lesson. But when the appointed hour arrived, he was still in the same state of drowsiness ; and he only succeeded in rousing himself by taking a bath, in which,

according to custom, he remained for a long time. It is surprising that this practice, joined to that of taking very hot baths, does not prove injurious to him.

The Emperor ate but little dinner, and he complained of not enjoying regular and sound rest. He conversed for some time on the subject of balloons, and laughed at those biographical notices which represent him as having forced himself, sword in hand, into the balloon of the military school. He mentioned, as a sort of prodigy, the circumstance of the balloon which ascended at his coronation having fallen, in the space of a few hours, in the neighbourhood of Rome, bearing intelligence of the ceremony to the inhabitants of that city.

The Emperor took up Don Quixote; but he closed the book in about half an hour: he cannot now apply himself to reading for a longer interval. His health visibly declines. He often observes to me, that we are both growing very old, and that he is much the oldest of the two: these words tell a great deal.

The required declaration is sent to the Governor.—The Emperor remarks that many modern books are merely booksellers' speculations.—False notions created by party spirit.—General Maison.

14th.—To-day the Grand Marshal forwarded to the Governor the new declarations which he

required us to make. They were all alike, and were as follows:—

“ I, the undersigned, hereby declare that I wish to remain at Saint-Helena, and to share the restrictions which are imposed on the Emperor Napoleon personally.”

About one o'clock I went to attend the Emperor in his chamber. I rendered him an account of some private affairs.

He was reading a work on the government of France. He thought it very indifferent, and observed, that since he had been in the habit of perusing new publications, he had found them, for the most part, to be merely matters of speculation,—things got up for sale by booksellers. The world, he said, was now threatened with a deluge of bad books, and he saw no remedy that could effectually counteract so great an evil.

After having dressed, the Emperor repaired to the drawing-room, where he looked over a few English newspapers, and read some lines of Telemachus. But he felt fatigued and low-spirited, and he suspended his reading. We discoursed on several subjects which intimately concerned the Emperor, who closed the conversation by several times repeating—“ *Poor human nature!*”

During another interval of conversation, Napoleon, taking a review of several well-known

individuals, on whom he pronounced his opinion, alluded to one, whom he represented as being a most immoral and base character. I happened to be acquainted with this person, and I observed that I knew him to be quite the reverse of what I had just heard described. I was defending the individual in question with considerable warmth, when the Emperor interrupted me, saying: "I give full credit to what you say; " but I had heard a different account of him: " and though I generally made it a rule to hear " things of this-kind with suspicion, yet you see " I could not always avoid retaining some im- " pression of what I heard. Was this my fault? " When I had no particular motive for inquiry, " how could I arrive at the knowledge of facts? " This," continued he, " is the inevitable conse- " quence of civil commotions: there are always " two reputations between the two parties. " What absurdities, what ridiculous stories, are " related of the individuals who figured in our " Revolution!* The saloons of Paris are full

* I take this opportunity of correcting an error of the nature here alluded to. It occurs in Part IV. where it is stated that M. Monge ascended the jacobinical tribune, &c. &c. The friends and relatives of that distinguished man have, however, assured me, that all who knew him at the time in question can bear witness that he never appeared among them, and that he never spoke in any public assembly. I feel pleasure in mentioning this circumstance; for nothing affords me greater happiness than to be the means of developing truth.

“ of them. I have borne my full share of this
“ kind of scandal. After me, who can have
“ any right to complain? Yet I protest that
“ nothing of this sort ever produced any in-
“ fluence on my mind, or occasioned me in any
“ instance to alter my determinations, &c.”

After alluding to several military officers, the Emperor mentioned General Maison, “ His man-œuvres,” said he, “ round Lille, in the crisis of 1814, attracted my attention, and fixed him in my recollection. He was not with us in 1815. What became of him? Where was he at that time?”—I could not answer these questions, as I did not know the General.

Difficulties started by the Governor respecting our declarations.—The Emperor's sentiments on that subject.—The Governor's conversation with each individual of the Emperor's suite.—Napoleon's remark.—Consummation of our slavery.

15th.—For some time past I have found it impossible to sleep; and I have passed whole nights without closing my eyes. About eight o'clock this morning, as I was endeavouring to compose myself to rest, the Grand Marshal entered my chamber, to inform me that the Governor had sent back our declarations, and was coming himself to oblige us to sign that which he had sent as a model, and which differed from ours only with respect to the title which

we gave to the Emperor. It was wished that we should designate him merely by the name *Bonaparte*.

The Grand Marshal proceeded to the Emperor's apartments, whither I was almost immediately summoned. On entering, I found the Emperor walking about and expressing himself with great warmth. All the individuals of the suite were assembled together. "The insults," said he, "which are daily heaped upon those who have devoted themselves to me, insults which there is every probability will be multiplied to a still greater extent, present a spectacle which I cannot and must not longer endure. Gentlemen, you must leave me; I cannot see you submit to the restrictions which are about to be imposed on you, and which will doubtless soon be augmented. I will remain here alone. Return to Europe, and make known the horrible treatment to which I am exposed: bear witness that you saw me sink into a premature grave. I will not allow any one of you to sign this declaration in the form that is required. I forbid it. It shall never be said that hands which I had the power to command were employed in recording my degradation. If obstacles are raised respecting a mere foolish formality, others will be started to-morrow for an equally trivial cause. It is determined to remove you in detail; but I would rather see you removed altogether and

“at once. Perhaps this sacrifice may produce
“a result.” With these words he dismissed us,
and we withdrew overwhelmed with dismay.

In a few moments the Emperor again sent for me. He was walking up and down through the whole length of his two little rooms. There was a peculiar softness, and even tenderness, in the tone of his voice, and I never observed more easy familiarity in his manner. “Well, my dear Las Cases,” said he, “I am going to turn hermit.” “Sire,” said I, “are you not one already? What resources does our society present to you? We can only offer you prayers and wishes; which, though they can contribute but little to your consolation, are every thing to us. Our present situation is the most distressing that can possibly be conceived; for, in the question under consideration, we now perhaps, for the first time, find it difficult to obey your Majesty. You hold the language of reason; while we are guided only by sentiment. The arguments which you just now addressed to us admit of no reply. Your determination is in unison with your character; it will astonish no one, but its execution is beyond our power. The thought of leaving you here alone exceeds in horror all that our imagination can picture.” “Such, however, is my fate,” replied the Emperor, “and I am ready to meet it; but yet I have sufficient strength to resist to the last.” “They will end my life; that is certain.”—

“Sire,” I observed, “the step which you propose we should adopt can never enter our thoughts. To the last moment I will speak the sentiments that your Majesty utters: I will resist to the utmost; but I shall find it impossible to act as I may speak.”

The Emperor seated himself, and desired me to sit down beside him. He observed that he was much fatigued; and he ordered breakfast, desiring me to stay with him. For a considerable time past, I had not been in the habit of dining with him: he told me the reason why I had been denied this happiness; and I considered it was a favour that he should condescend to tell me. When the coffee was brought in, there was no cup for me. Marchand was going to fetch one; but the Emperor called him back, saying: “Take that one from the mantel-piece: he shall drink out of my pretty gold cup.*

* This was the cup belonging to his cabinet, which stood on the chimney-piece as an ornament.

I have now the happiness of possessing the saucer belonging to this cup. M. Marchand, that faithful servant, to whom Napoleon declared himself so much attached, on his return from Saint-Helena, came and presented this saucer to me, in a manner that forcibly roused my gratitude and sensibility. “The beautiful cup,” said he, “out of which you sometimes drank, belonged to the Emperor’s cabinet, and was accordingly restored to its place.” The saucer, however, among other articles, fell to my share; and I now present it to you, being assured that you will feel as much pleasure in receiving as I have in giving it.”

Just as breakfast was over, the Grand Marshal entered and told us that the Governor had arrived, and had expressed a wish to see him at his (Bertrand's) new house, which is a very short distance from our establishment, and is at length on the point of being completed. The Emperor desired him to attend the Governor. The Grand Marshal, as he was about to withdraw, seemed desirous to know whether the Emperor still persisted in the orders he had given us this morning, in case the Governor should obstinately persist in requiring us to sign the declaration in the prescribed form; but the Emperor sharply observed: "I am not a child; when I have once thoroughly considered a question, I no longer entertain two opinions upon it. I have directed battles which have decided the fate of empires, and the orders I issued were always the result of my mature deliberation. In this instance I am alone concerned: Begone!"

The Grand Marshal soon returned with an account of the interview, which he had closed by a refusal. The Governor, he said, had desired to see the other three individuals of the suite together; but we thought it would be more proper to present ourselves in succession.

I went to wait on the Governor. I found him, surrounded by several of his attendants, in the garden, near the path leading to the Grand Marshal's house. He withdrew on perceiving

me; but I joined him in the court before the house.

As he had expressed himself very much irritated against me, I went as well fortified as I possibly could. He, however, conducted me with great politeness into the house, leaving the officers of his suite on the outside; and having told me that he awaited the arrival of MM. de Montholon and Gourgaud, to enter upon the business, I asked him whether he had any objection to treat immediately with me. He replied, that he had not; and calling in his officers, he told me, in their presence, that I had no doubt learned from the Grand Marshal what he had to propose on the subject of my declaration. I replied in the affirmative; at the same time observing, that I regarded the Grand Marshal as my model and guide, on account of his rank, as well as the respect and esteem I entertained for him, and therefore it was natural to expect that my answer should correspond with his. I added that I could not conceive why so much importance was attached to a mere matter of form, which was so painful to our feelings, while it could be of no service to those who insisted on it. "It is out of my power," said the Governor, "to make the alteration you wish. I am directed to present to you for signature the declaration written in my hand: now I, being an Englishman, cannot write the title you

“wish.”—“I was not aware of that,” replied I: “to that argument I have no reply to make. You, as an Englishman, may write thus; but I, being a Frenchman, must sign in my language; that is to say, with the translation from yours. Allow me, therefore, to add to my signature any phrase that you may think proper to dictate to me, in which I can express myself in my own language. You may now judge,” added I, “whether I deal candidly, and whether I seek to create difficulties.” This proposal seemed to claim his attention. “We are now,” I continued, “merely disputing about words, which may appear very silly, considering the important circumstances in which we are placed; but, Sir, who created these difficulties? Who will suffer from them? Your refusal places us in a most distressing situation! You see me reduced to the utmost despair! To me separation from the Emperor would be worse than death; yet I would sooner submit to it, than suffer my hand to be the instrument of his degradation. The Emperor unites in himself all that constitutes an august character, in the eyes of God or man: to deny this would be to deny the light of the sun.”

The Governor observed that he, as an Englishman, could not acknowledge the Emperor; and I replied that I could urge no objection to that.

I added, that however much I might be hurt by his mode of designating the Emperor, yet I did not mean to question his right of using whatever terms he might think proper; and that, for the same reason, he ought not to object to my opinions and expressions, considering that I was a Frenchman, and that he demanded my signature.

Here Sir Hudson Lowe angrily alluded to some past circumstances relating to himself personally; and he observed that, after all, moral character was the only real title to respect. "At that rate, Governor," replied I, with some warmth, and turning to the officers who were in attendance, "the Emperor may divest himself of all his titles, and he will but gain in the opinion of the world, if his character be estimated by the scale to which you allude." The Governor was silent: then, after a pause of a few moments, he observed that we still treated our General as though he were an Emperor. "And how can we treat him otherwise?"—"I mean to say, that you continue to look upon him as a sovereign."—"Governor, you talk of revering him as our sovereign; we do more—we worship him! We now consider the Emperor as removed from this world; we view him as though he were in Heaven! When you leave us a choice that is in opposition to him, it is like the choice given to martyrs when they

"are commanded to renounce their faith or die. Death, therefore, must be our alternative." These words produced a visible impression on the officers who were present, and even on the Governor. Contrary to custom, his countenance assumed a mild expression, and the tone of his voice was softened.

"Our situation here," continued I, "is so horrible as to be almost beyond endurance. You know this;—but what we now suffer is nothing to the misery which is reserved for us. What I ask will be no sacrifice to you, and it will be every thing to us. I implore you to grant what I request; and this is something, for you know I am not in the habit of soliciting favours from you. Make but this one concession, and you will claim my eternal gratitude. Besides, consider that a responsibility rests with you; that there is a public opinion in Europe, which you may forfeit without gaining any advantage in return. You cannot be a stranger to the sentiments which animate me; they must, I am sure, go to the hearts of all who listen to me."

Here the Governor appeared somewhat moved; the officers were evidently affected. Sir Hudson Lowe, after a few moments' silence, saluted me, and I took my leave of him.

MM. de Montholon and Gourgaud had each an interview in their turns; and we all four attended

the Emperor during his toilette, without, however, being able to tell him whether any decision had been formed on the subject that so deeply interested us.

The Emperor expressed a wish to go out, though the wind was extremely boisterous: we all walked to the extremity of the wood. He took a review of the Governor's conduct, making remarks upon it in the rapid and copious way peculiar to himself; and he concluded by saying, that if to-day we should agree to sign the declaration in order to avoid being separated from him, to-morrow another ground of expulsion would be brought forward; and that he should wish our removal to be effected forcibly and at once, rather than tranquilly and in detail. Then, suddenly assuming a tone of pleasantry, he said that, after all, he could hardly believe the Governor wished to reduce his subjects to one only; and what sort of subject would that one be? added he—an absolute porcupine, on which he would find it impossible to lay a finger.

During our walk two strangers approached pretty near to us. The Emperor made some one enquire who they were, and he was informed that they belonged to a vessel which was about to sail to-morrow for Europe. The Emperor asked whether they were likely to see any of the ministers on their arrival in London; and they replied that they should see Lord Bathurst. "Tell him," said Napoleon,

“ that his instructions with respect to my treatment here are most odious, and that his agent executes them with scrupulous fidelity. If he wished to get rid of me, he should have despatched me at a blow, instead of thus killing me by inches. This conduct is truly barbarous ; there is nothing English in it ; and I can only attribute it to some personal hatred. I have too much respect for the Prince Regent, the majority of the ministers, and the English nation, to suppose they are responsible for my treatment. Be this as it may, their power extends only to the body ; the soul is beyond their reach : it will soar to Heaven even from the dungeon.”

The Emperor, on his return home, took a bath ; he was fatigued and harassed by the events of the day. He fell asleep, and I watched beside him, meditating on our new grievances.

At dinner he ate but a little. Some one made an observation, and the Emperor, not having heard it distinctly, asked what had been said—a thing which frequently happens. The words were then repeated in a louder tone, upon which he observed : “ I am certainly growing deaf, for I occasionally miss hearing what is said, and I feel inclined to be angry when people speak louder than usual.” He concluded the evening by reading a part of Don Quixote. He was much amused at some comic passages ; and

laying down the book, he remarked that we certainly showed a great deal of courage, since we could laugh at such trifles under our present circumstances. He paused for some moments, and seemed deeply wrapped in thought; then rising, he withdrew, saying: "Adieu, my " dear friends."

During dinner a letter had been delivered to me from the Grand Marshal; but I had kept it concealed, conceiving that it augured no good. I opened it as soon as the Emperor withdrew. It inclosed a letter from the Governor, announcing that if we still persisted in our refusal to sign the declaration, he would immediately give orders for our removal to Europe. We yielded to the dictates of our hearts: to determine on leaving the Emperor, was beyond our power; while at the same time it would have been going beyond his wishes, and perhaps too beyond his orders. With unanimous sentiments, we eagerly signed the declarations in the form in which they were presented to us, and delivered them to the English officer on duty at Longwood, together with a letter to the Grand Marshal, acquainting him with what we had done without his participation. We had been guided solely by our feelings, and we trusted that those feelings would afford us consolation even though the Emperor should disapprove of the step we had taken.

We have now reached the consummation of our absolute slavery and dependence on the will and caprice of Sir Hudson Lowe; not merely by the signature we have just given him, but because he now knows our secret, and therefore it is in his power to compel us to submit to any thing he pleases.

Anecdotes of Sieyes.—The Emperor frequently witnessed popular festivals in disguise.—His visits to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, after his return from Moscow, and from the Island of Elba.—Manners during the time of the Directory.—Remarkable official note.

16th.—The Emperor sent for me about noon. He had been reading, and was just finishing his coffee. He desired me to sit down, and he entered into conversation. Not a word escaped him that could lead me to suppose he knew the determination we had adopted yesterday evening; he made no allusion to the subject, and it was not mentioned throughout the whole of the day. After breakfast, the Emperor walked about his apartments. The turn of the conversation introduced some anecdotes of former times, of which Sieyes was the subject. The Emperor related, that while Sieyes was chaplain to the Princes of Orleans, being one day engaged in performing mass, something unexpectedly occasioned the Princes to withdraw during the service; upon which the Abbé, looking up and see-

ing only the valets present, immediately closed his book, observing that he was not engaged to perform mass to the rabble.

“Your Majesty,” said I, “was the first who made me acquainted with the name and person of Sieyes. A few days after my presentation at court, your Majesty, at one of your audiences, having passed by me, stopped to speak to the person who stood next me, addressing him by name. All my emigrant prejudices were yet in full force, and I thought myself polluted by coming in contact with one whom I regarded as an absolute monster, and whom I had never heard mentioned, except as an object of the bitterest imprecation.”—“Doubtless,” said the Emperor, “you were thinking of the *mort sans phrase*. But I have heard it affirmed that Sieyes denied that.”

I now repeated an anecdote which used to be circulated in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, and on which, the first time I related it, the Emperor made no observation. Sieyes was described as having used the epithet *tyrant* in speaking of Louis XVI., to which Napoleon was said to have replied, “Monsieur Abbé, if he had been a tyrant, I should not be here, and you would still be performing mass.”—“I might have thought so,” said the Emperor, on my relating this anecdote for the second time; “but I should certainly not have been fool enough to say so.

“ This is one of the absurd stories invented in
“ the drawing-rooms of Paris. I never com-
“ mitted blunders of that kind : my object was
“ to extinguish, and not to feed the flame. The
“ torrent of hostility was already too forcibly
“ directed against certain leaders of the Revolu-
“ tion. I found it necessary to support and
“ countenance them ; and I did so. Some one
“ having procured—God knows where—a bust
“ of Sieyes in his ecclesiastical character, it was
“ publicly exhibited, and occasioned a universal
“ uproar. Sieyes, in a furious passion, set out
“ to make a complaint to me ; but I had already
“ given the necessary reprimand, and the bust
“ was again consigned to obscurity.

“ My great principle was to guard against re-
“ action, and to bury the past in oblivion. I
“ never condemned any opinion, or proscribed
“ any act. I was surrounded by the men who
“ had voted for the death of Louis XVI : they
“ were in the Ministry, and in the Council of
“ State. I did not approve of their doctrines ;
“ but what had I to do with them ? what right
“ had I to constitute myself their judge ? Some
“ had been actuated by conviction, others by
“ weakness and terror, and all by the delirium
“ and fury of the moment. The fatality of the
“ Greek tragedy was exemplified in the life of
“ Louis XVI.”

I told the Emperor, that it was reported in the

Faubourg Saint-Germain that Sieyes had been detected in a conspiracy against him, in the affair of M. Clement de Ris; and that he (Napoleon) had pardoned him, on condition of his entirely withdrawing himself from any participation in political affairs. "This is another idle story, for which there is not the slightest foundation," said the Emperor. "Sieyes was always attached to me, and I never had any cause to complain of him. He was probably vexed to find that I opposed his metaphysical ideas; but he was at length convinced that it was necessary for France to have a ruler, and he preferred me to any other. Sieyes was, after all, an honest and a very clever man: he did much for the Révolution."

The Emperor mentioned, that at one of the first public festivals that took place during the Consulate, as he was viewing the illuminations in company with Sieyes, he asked him what he thought of the state of affairs. Sieyes replied in a cold and even a disheartening tone. "And yet," resumed Napoleon, "I had this morning very satisfactory proofs of the spirit of the people."—"It is seldom," replied Sieyes, "that the people shew their real spirit, when the man who is possessed of power presents himself to their gaze. I can assure you they are far from being satisfied."—"Then you do not think the present government firmly established?"—"No."

—“And when do you suppose we shall be settled?”
—“When I see the Dukes and Marquises of the old court in your anti-chamber.”—“Sieyes,” added the Emperor, “little dreamed that this would so soon be the case. He was short-sighted, and could not see very far before him. I thought as he did, that all could not end with the Republic; but I foresaw the establishment of the Empire. Accordingly, two or three years afterwards, the circumstance I have just related being still fresh in my recollection, I said to Sieyes, at one of my grand audiences: Well, you are now *pêle-mêle* with all the old Dukes and Marquises; do you think all is settled now?”—“Oh, yes,” replied Sieyes, bowing profoundly; “you have accomplished miracles, which were never before equalled, and which I never could have foreseen.”

During the Consulate, and even during the Empire, Napoleon used at public festivals to go out late at night for the purpose of seeing the shows and hearing the sentiments of the people. He once went out in this way accompanied by Maria Louisa; and they both walked arm in arm on the Boulevards, highly amused at seeing their Majesties the Emperor and Empress, and all the *grandees* of the court, represented in the magic lanterns.

During the Consulate, Napoleon was once standing in front of the Hotel de la Marine, view-

ing a public illumination. Beside him was a lady, who to all appearance had formerly moved in a distinguished sphere, accompanied by her daughter, a very pretty girl, to whom she was pointing out all the persons of note, as they passed to and fro in the apartments. Calling her daughter's attention to a certain individual, she said: "Remind me to go and pay my respects to him some day. We ought to do so, for he has rendered us great service."—"But, mother," replied the young lady, "I did not know that we were expected to shew gratitude to such people. I thought they were too happy in being able to oblige persons of our quality."—"Certainly," said the Emperor, "La Bruyère would have turned this incident to good account."

Napoleon sometimes went out in disguise early in the morning, traversing the streets of the capital alone, and mingling with the labouring classes of the people, with whose condition and sentiments he wished to make himself acquainted. In the Council of State I have often heard him advise the Prefect of Police to adopt this plan. He called it the *Caliph system of police*, and said he esteemed it to be the best.

On his return from the disastrous campaigns of Moscow and Leipsic, Napoleon, in order to maintain the appearance of confidence, frequent-

ly appeared amidst the multitude with scarcely any attendants. He visited the market-places, the faubourgs, and all the populous districts of the capital, conversing familiarly with the people; and he was every where received and treated with respect.

One day, at *La Halle*, a woman with whom he had been holding a little dialogue, bluntly told him he ought to make peace. "Good woman," replied the Emperor, "sell your herbs, and leave me to settle my affairs. Let every one attend to his own calling." The bystanders laughed, and applauded him.

On another occasion, at the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, when surrounded by an immense concourse of people, whom he was treating very condescendingly, some one asked whether affairs were really as bad as they were represented to be. "Why, certainly," replied the Emperor, "I cannot say that things are going on very well."—"But what will be the end of this?"—"Heaven knows!"—"Will the enemy enter France?"—"Very possibly; and he may even march to Paris if you do not assist me. I have not a million of arms. I cannot do all by my own individual efforts."—"We will support you," exclaimed a number of voices.—"Then I shall beat the enemy, and preserve the glory of France."—"But what must we do?"—"You must enlist and fight."—"We will," said one of

the crowd; "but we must make a few conditions!" "What are they?"—"We will not pass the frontier."—"You shall not be required to do so."—"We wish to serve in the guards," said another.—"You shall do so." The air instantly resounded with acclamations. Registers were immediately opened, and two thousand men enlisted in course of the day. Napoleon returned to the Tuileries; and, as he entered the *Place Carrousel* on horseback, surrounded by the multitude, whose acclamations rent the air, it was supposed that an insurrection had broken out, and the gates were about to be closed.

On his return from the Island of Elba, the Emperor made another visit to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, where he was received with equal enthusiasm, and conducted back to the palace in a similar manner. As he passed through the Faubourg Saint-Germain, the multitude who escorted him halted before the principal hotels, and manifested their disapprobation by angry words and gestures. The Emperor observed that he had scarcely ever been placed in so delicate a situation. "How many evils might have ensued," said he, "had a single stone been thrown by the mob. Had a single imprudent word, or even an equivocal look, escaped me, the whole Faubourg might have been destroyed; and I am convinced that its preservation was to be attributed wholly to my presence

"of mind, and the respect which the multitude
"entertained for me."

To-day I attended the Emperor at his toilette. Santini was cutting his hair, and a large tuft fell at my feet. I stooped to pick it up, and the Emperor observing me, asked what I was doing. I replied that I had dropped something, upon which he smiled and pinched my ear: he guessed what I had picked up.

Speaking of the depravity and corruption of manners which prevailed at the time when he commanded the army of the interior in Paris, Napoleon mentioned that an *Ordonnateur* came to solicit some signatures from him, and to beg that he would give his support to certain appointments and supplies: this he promised to do without hesitation, conceiving that there was nothing unfair in the proposal. Before he withdrew, the *Ordonnateur* dextrously took an opportunity of leaving on the chimney-piece two rouleaux containing a hundred Louis. This was an enormous sum in specie, for at that time paper money was chiefly in use. Fortunately, the General was the first to discover the circumstance, and the visitor was called back before he had gone far. He at first attempted to deny having left the money; but he afterwards acknowledged it, observing that every one must live, and that the method he had adopted was, he believed, the general one. He, however, hoped

that he might be forgiven if he had unintentionally done wrong, adding that it was very seldom necessary to ask pardon for such offences.

At the hour at which the Emperor generally takes his walk, he found himself very drowsy ; but he was determined to rouse himself, and he went out though the wind was blowing violently. After walking a short way, he returned to the house, and we entered Madame de Montholon's apartment. The Emperor had no sooner seated himself on the sofa, than he felt inclined to fall asleep. He rose and proceeded to the drawing-room. He complained of great internal heat, and he asked for a glass of toast and water. His drowsiness still continued, and he retired to his chamber to lie down.

About seven o'clock he sent for me, and gave me the following note, which he desired me to keep along with the rest of the official papers. It was the copy of a note which he had sent that morning to the Governor

Note. — “ I recollect that in a conversation which took place between General Lowe and some of the gentlemen of my suite, (alluding to the conversation of the 15th,) some observations were made respecting my situation, which were not conformable with my ideas. I abdicated to the representatives of the people and in favour of my son. I proceeded with confidence to

England, with the intention of living either there or in America, in profound retirement, and under the name of a Colonel who was killed in battle by my side. *I had resolved to remain a stranger to all political affairs of any kind whatever.*

“When I went on board the Northumberland, I was informed that I was a prisoner of war, that I was to be transported beyond the line, and that I was to be called *General Bonaparte*. This obliged me to retain ostensibly the title of the Emperor Napoleon, in opposition to the name of General Bonaparte, which it was wished should be forced upon me.

“About seven or eight months ago, Count Montholon proposed to obviate the little difficulties that are continually arising, by my adopting an ordinary name. The Admiral thought it necessary to write to London on this subject, and there the matter rested.

“The name which is now applied to me has the advantage of not prejudging the past; but it is not in unison with the forms of society. *I am still disposed to assume a name that may be conformable with custom*; I once more repeat, that whenever I may be released from my cruel captivity, *I am still willing to continue a stranger to all political affairs, whatever may take place in the world.* Such is my determination; and no other declaration, on this subject, has my sanction.”

The Emperor ate but little dinner ; there was something very extraordinary in the lethargy that had come over him. He had been overpowered by drowsiness during the whole of the day ; and yet when he withdrew he said he was afraid he should not sleep, his sensations were so extraordinary. He generally rests soundly when he is inclined to sleep, but he had been dozing all day long without being able to get any rest.

To-day a frigate sailed for Europe.

Louis XVI.—Marie Antoinette.—Madame Campan.—Leonard.—The Princess de Lamballe.

17th.—About noon the Emperor sent for me ; his breakfast was just over. He was no better than he had been yesterday. He endeavoured to converse a little, and then read in English a few pages of the Vicar of Wakefield. He still complained of drowsiness, and after several vain efforts to rouse himself, he retired to his chamber to try and take a nap. He was the more astonished that this heaviness should continue, as he said he had slept well during the night.

He did not leave his chamber until dinner was ready, and after dinner he tried to read a little of Don Quixote ; but he almost immediately laid down the book, and retired. As it was very early, he sent for me after he had gone to bed, and I remained with him nearly an hour conversing on different subjects.

We spoke of Louis XVI., the Queen, Madame Elizabeth, their martyrdom, &c. He asked me to tell him what I knew of the King and Queen, and what they had said to me on my presentation. The forms and ceremonies of the Court were, I informed him, the same as those which were adopted during the Empire. As to character, I observed, it was generally admitted that the Queen had disappointed public expectation. During the first moments of the revolutionary storm, there was every reason to suppose her a woman of great talent and energy; but subsequently these qualities seemed entirely to forsake her. With regard to the King, I mentioned the opinion formed of him by M. Bertrand de Molleville, with whom I had been well acquainted, and who was Minister of Marine to Louis XVI. at the height of the crisis. He pronounced the King to have possessed considerable information, sound judgment, and excellent intentions; but there it all ended. He lost himself by the multiplicity of advice which he solicited, and by his irresolute and wavering mode of following that advice.

The Emperor, in his turn, retraced the portrait of the Queen, by Madame Campan, who, he observed, having been her confidant, and having served her with zeal, affection, and fidelity, might be expected to have known a great deal about her, and deserved to be considered as good

authority. Madame Campan, he said, had communicated to him many details of the private life of the Queen; and he related some particulars which he had derived from that source.

The Queen, according to Madame Campan, was a fascinating woman, but destitute of talent: she was better calculated to be a votary of pleasure than a participator in affairs of state. She possessed an excellent heart, was parsimonious rather than extravagant, and by no means possessed strength of character equal to the trying circumstances in which she was placed. She obtained regular information of the schemes that were carrying on abroad; and she never entertained a doubt of her deliverance, even up to the fatal 10th of August, the catastrophe of which was brought about solely by the intrigues and hopes of the Court, which were developed to the world through the imprudence of the King and those who surrounded him.

“ On the terrible night of the 5th of October,” said the Emperor, “ a person for whom the Queen “ entertained a high regard, and whom I afterwards treated very ill at Rastadt, hastened to “ join the Princess at Versailles: whether he had “ been sent for, or whether he went of his own “ accord to share her dangers, I know not. It is “ in these trying moments,” continued the Emperor, “ that we feel most in need of the advice “ and consolation of those who are devoted to

“ us. At the moment of the catastrophe, when “ the palace was forced, the Queen fled for refuge to the King’s apartments ; but her confidence was exposed to the greatest dangers, and “ only escaped by leaping out of a window.”

I informed the Emperor that the Queen had greatly fallen in the estimation of the emigrants, by her conduct during the events of Varennes : she was reproached for not having allowed the King to set out alone, and for having betrayed a want of skill and energy during the flight of the Royal family. Nothing, indeed, could be more ill managed and confused than the journey to Varennes. A curious circumstance connected with that event was, that Léonard, the Queen’s famous *coiffeur*, found means to pass in his cabriolet, through the midst of the tumult ; and he arrived at Coblenz, bringing with him the Marshal’s baton, which, it was said, the King had carried away from the Tuileries, in order to deliver it to M. de Bouillé, when he should join him.

“ It was,” said the Emperor, “ an established rule with the members of the House of Austria, to observe profound silence respecting “ the Queen of France. Whenever the name of “ Marie Antoinette was mentioned, they cast “ down their eyes, and dextrously changed the “ conversation, as if to avoid a disagreeable and “ embarrassing subject. This rule,” continued

the Emperor, “ was adopted by all the members
“ of the family, and recommended to their agents
“ abroad. The efforts lately made by the French
“ princes in Paris, to revive the interest attached
“ to the memory of the unfortunate Queen, must
“ certainly have been displeasing to the Court
“ of Vienna.”

The Emperor next asked me some questions concerning the Princess de Lamballe, of whom he said he knew nothing. I was enabled to answer his questions, as I had known the Princess well. One of my cousins had been her lady of honour; and on my arrival at Aix-la-Chapelle, at the commencement of my emigration, I was received as one of her household, and treated with the utmost kindness.

At Aix-la-Chapelle the Princess de Lamballe had assembled round her many of the wrecks of Versailles; she was surrounded by nobles and persons of fashion, who had been connected with the old Court. She was also visited by many illustrious foreigners; and while I remained with her I frequently saw Gustavus III. King of Sweden, who went by the name of the Count de Haga; Prince Ferdinand of Prussia, and his children, the eldest of whom (Prince Louis) was killed just before the battle of Jena; the Duchess of Cumberland; the widow of a brother of the King of England, &c.

When Louis XVI. solemnly accepted the Con

stitution, and thus recomposed the nation, the Princess received an official letter from the Queen, inviting her to return to her situation. She consulted her old friends, who declared themselves of opinion that the Queen was not free, and conceiving that there would be no safety in Paris, they advised her to take no notice of the Queen's letter, and to let it be supposed it had never come to hand. The Princess, however, having asked some other individuals, how they would advise her to act, they unfortunately replied:—"Madam, you shared the prosperity of the Queen, and you have now a noble opportunity of proving your fidelity, particularly since you are no longer her favourite." The Princess possessed lofty sentiments, warm affections, and was rather of a romantic turn of mind. She declared her intention of setting out next day for Paris. The unfortunate lady, therefore, returned to the capital, with a full knowledge of the danger to which she was exposed; and she fell the victim of generosity and noble sentiment. When the Princess determined on proceeding to Paris, my friends proposed that I should accompany her as one of her suite. My youth, together with the circumstance of my being almost a stranger in Paris, would have enabled me to pass unnoticed, and I might perhaps have been serviceable to her; but at the moment of her departure, some difficulties arose which

prevented me from accompanying her. However, I became her correspondent; and every other day I transmitted to her the histories and absurd stories of every kind, which served to feed our hopes, and to which we failed not to give implicit credit. I continued my correspondence while we remained in the country; I even continued it after she had ceased to exist!

The extreme affliction in which I was plunged, on hearing of her dreadful fate, was occasionally augmented by the fear that my letters might perhaps have had some share in producing it. I happen to have now in my possession some lines which she wrote a few days before the horrible catastrophe which closed her existence. They are dated *from my dungeon*; for so she called the Pavillion of Flora, which she at that time occupied in the Tuileries.

Removal of four individuals of our establishment.—Recollections of the Emperor's early life.

18th.—I did not see the Emperor until five o'clock, when he sent for me to attend him in the drawing-room. He continued indisposed; but he had, notwithstanding, been engaged all the morning in dictating to the Grand Marshal. He summoned all the individuals of his suite in succession. He was low-spirited and heavy; but at the same time there was a certain restlessness about him. He sought to amuse himself in va-

rious ways. He first tried chess, then dominos, and then chess again; but he was at length compelled to return to his chamber, finding it impossible to sit up. The state of the weather, joined to the vexations to which we are exposed, concur in producing torments almost beyond endurance. The weather has an effect on the nerves, and the persecutions that are heaped upon us are still worse to bear. Every word uttered by the Governor increases our misery. To-day he had signified his intention of removing four of our establishment, which has been the cause of general lamentation among the household: the individuals singled out for removal, regret their separation from their companions; while those who are to remain, are tormented by the fear of speedily sharing the same fate. We compared Sir Hudson Lowe to Scylla, devouring the four companions of Ulysses.

The Governor has informed me that he also intends removing my servant, who is an inhabitant of the island, and with whom I am very well satisfied. He is doubtless afraid that the man will become too much attached to me. He proposes to send me a servant of his own choosing, a favour for which I feel very grateful, though I have no intention of availing myself of the kind offer.

At dinner the Emperor ate but little. During

the dessert, however, his spirits revived a little, and we began to converse on the events of his early life. This is a subject on which he delights to dwell, and which always affords him a source of new and lively interest. He repeated many of the particulars which I have already related at different times. He said he loved to carry himself back to that happy age when all is gaiety and enjoyment;—that happy period of hope and rising ambition, when the world first opens before us and the mind fondly cherishes every romantic dream. He spoke of his regiment, and the pleasures he had enjoyed when he first mingled in society. On mentioning the different balls and fêtes which he had attended in his youthful days, he described one as having been particularly splendid. “But,” said he, “at that time my notions of splendour were very different from what they now are.”

Alluding to the date of certain circumstances, he observed, that it would be difficult for him to detail his life year by year. We observed that if he would only date the events of four or five years, we could easily take all the rest upon ourselves. He reverted to his *début* at the military school of Toulon, the circumstances that first called him into notice, the sudden ascendancy which he acquired by his first successes, and the ambition with which they inspired him: “And yet,” said he, “I was far from entertain-

“ing a high opinion of myself. It was not till
“ after the battle of Lodi that I conceived those
“ lofty notions of ambition, which were confirmed
“ in Egypt, after the victory of the Pyramids,
“ and the possession of Cairo. Then,” said he,
“ I willingly resigned myself to every brilliant
“ dream.”

The Emperor had become very cheerful and talkative, and he did not retire until midnight. We looked upon this as a sort of resuscitation.

Madame de Genlis' Novels.

19th.—Our four outlaws, namely, the Pole, Santini, Archambeau, and Rousseau, left us about the middle of the day. In an hour after, they sailed for the Cape with a brisk wind.

About three o'clock the Emperor sent for me. He was in the drawing-room, and he desired to have Madame de Genlis' novels brought to him. He read a few pages aloud; but he soon laid down the books, observing that they told him nothing. It was not so with me: the few pages that I had just heard, touched many tender strings. They presented a picture of the elegant society of Paris, detailed the names of streets and monuments, described familiar conversations, and retraced well-known portraits: all this produced a forcible impression on me. The realities exist, I myself exist, and yet we are separated by distance, time, and doubtless by eternity. I

could at this moment look with indifference on pleasure and gaiety; but the recollection of persons and places, which had thus been revived, filled me with feelings of deep melancholy and regret.

The Grand Marshal now arrived, and the Emperor dictated to him till dinner-time.

In the evening the Emperor asked for the Arabian Nights; but he was unable to read, and soon laid aside the book.

Valuation of the Books sent out to us.—The Grand Marshal comes to live nearer to us.

20th.—I spent the day in estimating the value of the books sent to us from London, and for which an enormous sum is claimed of the Emperor. Our valuation did not amount to even half that sum.

The Emperor did not appear in the drawing-room until a moment before dinner; he had not, he said, seen any body the whole day; he had sought for diversion and found it in continued application. After dinner he again took up the Arabian Nights.

The Grand Marshal and his family have this day left Hut's-gate, their first residence, which was situated about one league from Longwood. They have at last taken possession of their new house, by which means we are now nearly under the same roof. This was quite an event for them and for us.

Expedition of Saint-Louis in Egypt.—Our Female Authors.—Madame de Staël.—The writers inimical to Napoleon will bite against granite.

21st.—I went after breakfast to see Madame Bertrand. She was so confined at Hut's-gate, that she will have no cause to regret, being shut up within our enclosure, and we shall be very great gainers by it. For my part it seemed to me as if I had found part of my family.

Our limits become every day more circumscribed. The number of sentries is augmented, every thing reminds us incessantly of our horrible prison.

The Emperor said to me whilst he was dressing, "that he was determined to apply, once more, regularly to his occupations, which had been interrupted by the late ill-treatment from our horrible Governor." I urged him to do so with all my might, as well for his own sake as for ours, and for France and History.

The weather was too bad to allow the Emperor to take the air. He went into his library, and looked over the History of the Crusades by Michaud, and the Memoirs of Joinville. From thence he went to the drawing-room, and conversed for some time longer; particularly respecting the servant which they wish to take from me, and one they intend to give me, &c.

The Governor will only give for the Emperor's

plate a sum which is more than a fifth less than the plate is valued at in Paris, and yet he will neither allow any competition for the sale of it in the Island, nor of its being taken to London! . . .

The unfortunate people that have been shipped for the Cape, will be fed like common sailors. I have heard on this occasion, that the same thing took place on board the Northumberland, and that the Emperor's servants had not had any indulgence more than the common sailors, except by paying for it.

After dinner the Emperor read, in Joinville, an account of the expedition of Saint-Louis in Egypt. He analysed it, pointing out its defects, and comparing the movements and the plan of that expedition with the plan adopted by himself; concluding that "if he had acted in the same manner as Saint-Louis had done, he would undoubtedly have shared the same fate."

The Emperor retired early and sent for me. The conversation again fell upon his excursions in Egypt and in Syria. *Matilda*, a novel, by Madame Cottin, the scene of which is laid in those countries, being incidentally mentioned, led the Emperor to take a review of our female authors. He spoke of Madame Roland and her *Memoirs*, of Madame de Genlis, of Madame Cottin, whose *Claire d'Albe* he had just been reading, and of Madame de Staël. He spoke

at length about the latter, and repeated in part what has already been said. Speaking of her exile, he said: "Her house had become quite
"an arsenal against me; people went there
"to be armed knights. She endeavoured to
"raise enemies against me and fought against
"me herself. She was at once Armida and
"Clorinda." Then summing up his arguments as he was wont to do, he said: "After all, it
"cannot be denied that Madame de Staël is
"a very distinguished woman, endowed with
"great talents and possessing a considerable
"share of wit. She will go down to posterity.
"It was more than once hinted to me, in order
"to soften me in her favour, that she was an
"adversary to be feared, and might become a
"useful ally; and certainly if instead of reviling
"me as she did, she had spoken in my praise,
"it might no doubt have proved advantageous
"to me; for her position and her abilities gave
"her an absolute sway over the saloons, and
"their influence in Paris is well known." He then added, "Notwithstanding all that she has
"said against me, and all that she will say yet,
"I am certainly far from thinking or saying
"that she has a bad heart: the fact is, that she
"and I have waged a little war against each
"other; and that is all." Then taking a review of the numerous writers who have declaimed against him, he said: "I am destined to be

“ their food, but I have little fear of becoming
“ their victim; they will bite against granite;
“ my history is made up of facts, and words
“ alone cannot destroy them. In order to fight
“ against me successfully, somebody should
“ appear in the lists armed with the weight
“ and authority of facts on his side. If such a
“ man as the great Frederic, or any other man
“ of his cast, were to take to writing against
“ me, then it would be a different thing; it
“ would then, perhaps, be time for me to begin
“ to be moved; but as for all other writers,
“ whatever be their talent, their efforts will be
“ vain. My fame will survive: and when they
“ wish to be admired, they will sound my
“ praise.”

Care taken of the wounded in the Armies.—Baron Larrey.—

Characteristic circumstance.

22d—23d. The weather has been very bad. The Emperor, suffering greatly from the tooth-ache, and having a swelled cheek, has not been able to go out for the last two days. I have spent the greatest part of them with him, in his apartment, or in the drawing-room, which he has converted into a promenade, by opening the doors of communication from one to the other.

Amongst the various subjects of our conversation, he once told me certain things which he had heard, and at which I much rejoiced. Nothing

can give a more striking proof of the horrors of our situation than the importance which I attached to them. But every thing is in proportion to the situation in which we are placed.

At another time, the Emperor expressed his regret at being so lazy with respect to the English language. I told him that he now knew as much of it as he wanted. He could read all books; it was now only necessary to reduce the whole to a regular system—but, were the rule and compass fit things for him?

After going through several subjects of conversation, the Emperor spoke of Baron Larrey, on whom he passed the highest encomium, saying that Larrey had left the impression on his mind of a true, honest man; that to science he united, in the highest degree, the virtue of active philanthropy: he looked upon all the wounded as belonging to his family; every consideration gave way before the care which he bestowed upon the hospitals. “In our first campaigns under the Republic, which have been so much recited,” said the Emperor, “a most fortunate revolution took place in the surgical department, which has since spread to all the armies of Europe; and to Larrey it is, in great measure, that mankind is indebted for it. The surgeon now shares the dangers of the soldier: it is in the midst of the fire that he devotes his cares to

“ him. Larrey possesses all my esteem and my “gratitude,” &c. &c.

N.B. This favourable impression seems clearly to have occupied Napoleon’s mind in his last moments; for he has left Larrey a mark of his remembrance, with this honourable testimony—*“ The most virtuous man that I have known.”* On reading these words, I concluded that some peculiar circumstance must have produced this most magnificent expression of esteem, and the following is the result of my inquiries:—

After the battles of Lutzen, Wurchen, and Bautzen, the victorious Napoleon sent for the surgeon (Larrey), to ascertain, as usual, the number of the wounded, and the state in which they were. They happened to be, on this occasion, very considerably more numerous than at other times and in other engagements. The Emperor was surprised at this circumstance, and endeavoured to explain the cause of it. M. Larrey thought that, independently of local causes, it might be found in the great number of soldiers who had fought on that day for the first time, and who were, on that account, more awkward in their movements, and less expert in avoiding danger. The Emperor, whose mind was extremely preoccupied by this affair, was not satisfied with this explanation, and made inquiries elsewhere. As there were, at that moment,

several persons who were heartily tired of war; who would have wished for peace on any conditions; and who would not have been sorry to see the Emperor compelled to make it, whether from the effect of calculation or conviction,—the Emperor was told, in answer to his inquiries, that the immense number of wounded ought not to be a matter of surprise; that the greatest proportion of them were wounded in the hand, and they had inflicted the wound on themselves, in order to be disabled from fighting. The Emperor was thunderstruck at this information; he repeated his inquiries, and found them attended with the same result; he was in a state of despair. “If it be thus,” he exclaimed, “notwithstanding our success, our situation is hopeless: France will be delivered up defenceless to the barbarians.” And turning over in his mind by what means he should put a stop to this contagion, he ordered all the wounded of a certain description to be put on one side; and named a commission, composed of surgeons, with Larrey at their head, to examine their wounds, resolved to punish most severely those who should be found to have been so cowardly as to mutilate themselves. M. Larrey, still unwilling to believe in this voluntary self-mutilation, which, in his opinion, was a stain on the honour of the army and of the nation, appeared before the Emperor to state his opinion once more to him. But Napoleon, incensed at

his obstinacy, which some persons had taken care to magnify in his eyes, said to him with severity, "Sir, you will make your observations to me officially;—go and fulfil your duty."

Baron Larrey immediately applied to the business, but in a solemn manner; he followed up the most trifling details, and therefore proceeded slowly, whilst various motives rendered many persons impatient to see the issue; and it was known that the Emperor himself was no less impatient. Some persons did not fail to point out to M. Larrey the delicate situation in which he was placed; but he turned a deaf ear to all observations, and remained unmoved. At last, after some days, he went to the Emperor, insisting upon being allowed to deliver his report himself, "Well, Sir," said the Emperor, "do you still persist in your opinion?"—"More than that, Sire, I am come to prove to your Majesty that I was right; these brave young men were basely calumniated: I have spent a considerable time in the strictest investigation, and I have not found one single man guilty; there is a deposition in writing on the individual case of every one of those wounded men: bales of them follow me; your Majesty may order them to be examined." The Emperor looked at him with a gloomy expression, and taking his report with a kind of emotion, he said, "Very well, Sir, I will look into it;" and he paced the room

with rapid stride, with an air of agitation and indecision; at last coming up to Larrey with an open countenance, he shook him cordially by the hand, and said with emotion: "Farewell, "M. Larrey, a sovereign is truly fortunate to "have to do with such men as you are; you "will receive my orders." M. Larrey received the same evening from Napoleon, his picture set in diamonds, 6000 francs in gold, and a pension on the State of 3000 francs, independent, it was said, of every other reward to which he might be entitled by his rank, his seniority, and his future services. Such traits are invaluable for history; as they exhibit, on the one hand, an honest man who does not hesitate to defend truth against a sovereign prepossessed and incensed; and because they display, on the other, the noble mind of the sovereign in the happiness and the gratitude which he expressed on being undeceived.

The Emperor accepts my four thousand Louis.—Tragedy of Euripides in its original purity ordered for the Theatre at Saint-Cloud.—Marshal Jourdan.

24th.—The Emperor has not been out, he has not sent for any of us, and he has not appeared at dinner. This made us fear that he was ill. After ten o'clock he sent for me, as I was not yet in bed. He told me he had not left his sofa the whole day; he had read during nearly eighteen

hours. He had only taken a little soup. He was suffering from his teeth. I told him we had feared it was something more serious, for that our grief at not seeing him, was always increased by apprehension.

After a short time, he began to touch upon our pecuniary resources. He had, as he humorously expressed it, held his council in the morning; the plate had been weighed, and the quantity that was to be sold had been computed; the produce of it, he added, would enable us to go on for some time longer. I again renewed the offer of the 4000 Louis which I had in the English funds, and he deigned to accept them. "Mine is a singular situation," said he; "I have no doubt that if a communication were allowed with me, and that my relatives, or even many strangers, could suspect that I am in want, I should soon be amply provided with every thing that I require; but, ought I to be a burthen to my friends, and expose them to the undue advantage which the English ministers might take of their goodwill? I have applied to those ministers for a few books, and they have sent them to me with all the inattention and neglect of a careless agent. They claim from me fifteen hundred or two thousand pounds sterling, that is, about 50,000 francs, for what I might certainly have procured for less than 12,000. Would it not

"be the same with every thing else? If I accept what you offer, it must be strictly applied to our immediate wants; for, after all, we must live, and we really cannot live upon what they give us. The small addition of one hundred Louis per month would just be sufficient, and that is the sum which you must ask for, and appropriate as carefully as possible."

The calash then came up to us; it was driven four in hand by Archambaud. This could not be otherwise, since the departure of Archambaud's brother. The Emperor refused at first to get into the carriage; he did not think it prudent, in the midst of the stumps of trees with which we were surrounded; he remembered his famous fall at Saint-Cloud, and wished one of the English servants to ride as a postilion, but Archambaud protested that he should feel less secure in that manner than in driving alone. Since the departure of his brother, he said, he had been constantly practising amongst the trees, in order to be sure that he could answer for himself. The Emperor then got in the calash, and we took two turns. On our return he went to see the residence of the Grand Marshal, with which he was not yet acquainted.

The evening was terminated by reading some passages of Longepierre's tragedy of Medea, which the Emperor interrupted, to compare it with that of Euripides on the same subject,

which he ordered to be brought to him. He mentioned, on the subject, that he had formerly ordered one of the Greek tragedies to be represented at his theatre in the palace, in all its integrity, choosing the best possible translation, and imitating as closely as possible the manners, dresses, forms, and scenery of the original. He could not recollect what circumstance or what obstacle had prevented the execution of the plan.

Having retired to his apartment, and not finding himself disposed to sleep, he took some turns in his room, and threw himself on his sofa. He opened a kind of political almanack which happened to be at hand; and fell upon a list of our Marshals, which he passed in review, adding, at the same time, quotations and anecdotes already known or related. When he came to Marshal Jourdan, he dwelt for some time on the subject, and concluded by saying: "This is one who has been assuredly very ill treated by me; it was, therefore, natural to conclude that he would be highly incensed against me; but I have heard with pleasure that he has behaved with great moderation since my fall. He has given an example of that elevation of mind which serves to distinguish men, and does honour to their character. However, he was a true patriot, and that explains many things."

Summary of July, August, September, and October.—Of Mr. O'Meara's work.—Action now brought against him by Sir Hudson Lowe.—A few words in defence of this work.

The usual summary cannot henceforth be long; strictly speaking, three sentences would suffice to trace it:

Incessant annoyance.

Absolute seclusion.

Infallible destruction.

The remainder of Napoleon's existence will only be a cruel and prolonged agony.

It has already been seen that the arrival of a new Governor became for us the signal of the commencement of a life of misery. A few days had sufficed to unfold his disposition; and soon afterwards the annoyances and insults of which he made himself the organ, or which he himself created, were carried to the highest pitch. He rendered us an object of terror to the inhabitants—he subjected us to the most cruel vexations—he forbade us to write, without a previous communication with him, even to those persons with whom he did not prevent us from conversing without restraint—he invited *General Bonaparte* to dine at his table, to shew him to a lady of rank who was for a short time on the island—he arrested one of our servants.

He now produces a despatch, in pursuance of which he endeavours to oblige the Emperor to

go into the meanest details of his wants, as Napoleon expressed it, and to discuss them with him; he importunes the Emperor to give money which he does not possess; and by dint of reductions in the common necessities of life, obliges him to break up and sell his plate, determining at the same time, by his authority as Governor, the rate at which it is to be sold, and the person who is to purchase it. He ridiculously restricts us to one bottle of wine per head, including the Emperor. "He cheapens our existence," said the Emperor; "he grudges me the air I breathe, and what he sends to us for our subsistence is sometimes, nay frequently, so bad, that we are obliged to apply for provisions to the neighbouring camp!" &c.

He lays a snare for Napoleon, and exults in the hope of being able to impart to him, personally and pompously, a communication which he calls a ministerial order, but which is so outrageous that he refuses to leave a copy of it; he prescribes to the Emperor the most absurd regulations; he capriciously, and with bitter irony, contracts the space of his usual limits; chalks out the trace of his footsteps; and even goes so far as to attempt to regulate the nature of his conversations and the tenour of his expressions; he surrounds us with trenches, palisadoes, and redoubts; he obliges each of us individually, in

order to be allowed to remain with the Emperor, to sign a declaration that we submit to all these restrictions; he makes use of us as instruments to degrade the Emperor, by obliging us to call him *Bonaparte*, under pain of being immediately removed from his person and instantly sent out of the island, &c. &c.

The Emperor, provoked by such disgraceful usage and such gratuitous insults, opens his mind without reserve to Sir Hudson Lowe; his words know no restraint; he frees himself forever from his odious presence, and declares that he never will see him again. "The most unworthy proceeding of the English ministers," said the Emperor to him, "is not to have sent me here, but to have delivered me into your hands. I complained of the admiral your predecessor; but he at least had a heart! . . . You are a disgrace to your nation, and your name will for ever be a stain upon its character! This Governor," the Emperor would frequently say to us, "has nothing of an Englishman in his composition; he is nothing but a worthless scoundrel of Sicily. I at first complained that a gaoler had been sent to me; but I now affirm they have sent me an executioner," &c.

I have recorded these expressions, and I might mention many more, however harsh they may be. 1st, Because I heard them uttered. 2dly, Because Napoleon used them in speaking to Sir

Hudson Lowe in person, or caused them to be repeated to him. 3dly and lastly, Because they were deserved, on account of the arbitrary, oppressive, and brutal manner, in which the Governor, to the great scandal of the Englishmen themselves who were on the spot, and who then manifested their disgust at his conduct, abused the power with which he was invested in the name of a Nation so eminently distinguished all over the globe, of a Prince so universally respected in Europe, and of a Cabinet in which there were still some honourable characters, men personally known by their moderation and their elegant manners.

The vexations by which Napoleon was assailed were incessant; they pursued him at every moment of his existence. Not a day passed without the infliction of a fresh wound; and one of the torments recorded in fabulous history may be said to have been thus realized.

Ah! if during that period of affliction for so many generous hearts, the genius of Europe, the genius of Truth, and the genius of History, have ever unwillingly turned their eyes towards Saint-Helena, and upon the great Napoleon; if they have sought for him in that island which they thought it would be endeavoured, at least, to turn into a kind of Elysium for him; what must have been their indignation to see him, in the bright glory of so many immortal actions,

chained like Prometheus to a rock, and like him under the claws of a vulture, which delights in tearing him to pieces!!! O infamy! O eternal disgrace! . . .

During this period the Emperor's health has been constantly and considerably declining; his body, which was thought so robust, which had endured so many toils, and withstood so much fatigue, supported by victory and glory, was now bending under the weight of infirmities prematurely brought on by the injustice of men. Almost every day he is attacked by some new indisposition; fever, swelled face, symptoms of scurvy, constant colds; his features are altered, his gait becomes heavy, his legs swelled, &c. . . Our hearts were torn in seeing him thus hastening towards infallible destruction; all our cares are in vain.

He had long since given up riding on horseback, and by degrees, also, he almost entirely relinquished his rides in the calash. Even walking became a rare occurrence, and he was thus nearly reduced to a strict seclusion in his apartments. He no longer applied to any regular or continued occupation; he seldom dictated to us, and only upon subjects that were merely the fancy of the moment. He spent the greatest part of the day alone in his room, busied in turning over a few books, or rather doing nothing. Let those who have formed a due estimate of the power of his

faculties, appreciate the strength of mind required to enable him to bear, with equanimity, the intolerable burthen of a life so wearisome and monotonous; for, in our presence, he always exhibited the same serenity of countenance and equality of temper; his mind appeared equally unembarrassed; his conversation offered the same lively turns of expression, and he was sometimes even inclined to mirth and humour; but, in the privacy of intimate intercourse, it was easy to perceive that he no longer thought of the future, meditated on the past, or cared about the present; he merely yielded a passive obedience to the physical laws of Nature, and, thoroughly disgusted with life, he perhaps secretly sighed for the moment which was to put an end to it.

Such was the state of affairs when I was forcibly removed from Longwood; for that period approaches—it is not far distant.

I have not noted down in the course of my Journal every minute circumstance of our quarrels with the Governor, or the numerous official communications that were exchanged between us. I have also omitted to mention all the shameful privations to which we were exposed, in respect to the necessaries and comforts of life. My object has been to show Napoleon's character in its true light, and not to write the history of Longwood, and the catalogue of its miseries. Those who have any curiosity on that

score may seek for details in the work of Mr. O'Meara. It would have argued meanness in me, who was one of the victims, had I dwelt upon them; but for the Doctor, who was only a witness, who was a stranger to us, and in some degree one of the adverse party, he can only, situated as he is, have been actuated in so doing by the impulse of a powerful feeling, and of generous indignation, which does honour to his heart.

I have just heard that the ex-governor of Saint-Helena has brought an action against Mr. O'Meara for defamation and calumny: I have the highest respect for the Judges that preside over the principal courts of justice in England, because I know how they are chosen; but how can one, in these days, be secure of the result of such an action? In the unfortunate political effervescence of our times, truth appears, as it were, in two lights at the same time; the true light is, for every individual, that which exists in his own heart; for, after all, it is impossible to impose upon one's self, and that reflection will, no doubt, be a motive of consolation to Mr. O'Meara, whatever the result may be. And I must here declare that all the facts that I have seen stated in Mr. O'Meara's work, on the above-mentioned points, and which may have been known to me while I was at Saint-Helena, are strictly true; and from thence I naturally conclude, by analogy, that the re-

mainder, which I have not seen, is also true. I, therefore, do not hesitate to say that I consider it as such in my heart and conscience.

Whilst writing this, I have received from Sir Hudson Lowe some extracts of confidential letters which, he informs me, he received at the time from Mr. O'Meara, in which, he observes to me, O'Meara spoke of me in a very improper manner, and made secret reports to him respecting me. What can have been the intention of Sir Hudson Lowe in acting thus with me? Considering the terms on which we are together, he cannot have been prompted by a very tender interest. Did he wish to prove to me that Mr. O'Meara acted as a spy for him upon us? Did he hope so far to prepossess me against him, as to influence the nature and the force of my testimony in favour of his adversary? And, after all, are these letters in their original state? have they not been altered after the fashion of Saint-Helena? But, even supposing their meaning to be true and explicit, in what respect can they offend me? What claim had I then on Mr. O'Meara's indulgence? what right had I to expect it? It is true, that at a later period, after his return to Europe, seeing him persecuted and punished on account of the humanity of his conduct towards Napoleon, I wrote to him to express my heartfelt gratitude, and to offer him an asylum in my family, should injustice compel him to leave his own country;

that he was welcome to share with me. But at Saint-Helena I hardly knew him, and I do not believe that I spoke to him ten times during my residence at Longwood. I considered him as being opposed to me by nation, by opinions, and by interest: such was the nature of my connexion with Mr. O'Meara. He was, therefore, entirely at liberty with respect to me: he might *then* write whatever he thought proper, and it cannot now vary the opinion which I have since formed of him. Sir Hudson Lowe intends now to insinuate that Mr. O'Meara was a double and a triple spy at the same moment, viz. for the Government, for Napoleon, and for him, Sir Hudson Lowe; but does that disprove the truth and destroy the authenticity of the facts mentioned in his book? On the contrary. And from which of the three parties could he expect to be rewarded for revealing these facts to the public? Napoleon is no more; he can expect nothing from him: and his publication has rendered the two others his ardent enemies, who have deprived him of his situation, and threaten to disturb his repose; for his real crime, in their eyes, is the warm zeal, which he has displayed, of a friend to the laws and to decorum; who, indignant at the mean and indecorous vexations to which Napoleon had been exposed, drags the true authors of them to light, in order to exculpate his country. I have, therefore, considered this tardy communication of the

confidential letters which Sir Hudson Lowe has just transmitted to me, at the moment of his action with O'Meara, as a kind of interested accusation, which every one will qualify as he thinks proper. I have never even acknowledged the receipt of these letters; and still less have I ever thought of complaining of their contents.

I now advance in my undertaking; I calculate the period of its termination, and my acknowledgments are due for the favourable manner in which it has hitherto been received. I felt that I had a duty imposed upon me, and I have devoted myself to its fulfilment, not lukewarmly, but conscientiously. Having undertaken to portray the man of prodigies, not with my own feeble colouring, but by means of his own words and gestures, I have thought it indispensable, above all things, to be minutely true and scrupulously exact; and I hope that those who shall have read my book will render me the justice to acknowledge, that I have sacrificed all system, all opinions, all party-feeling, all connexions, to attain that end. I have wounded private feelings; I have not been swayed by regard for the highest personages, or the highest considerations. On the other hand, I have not concealed from myself any of the grave inconveniences or numerous troubles which it may entail upon me. I had to fear that plain and impartial truth, as it too often happens, might

displease every body, and raise many voices against it; the Government also, on a subject so nearly connected with our great events, might become incensed; and I had to fear that I might be brought before the magistrature, and condemned to fine, confiscation, or imprisonment. It is true that I might have lessened the danger and difficulty of this situation, and made myself almost a stranger to it, by giving or selling my manuscript in France or abroad: but should I thus have fulfilled my object? and, notwithstanding every condition that I might have imposed, would there have been wanting pretences or real motives for altering or mutilating this work, the only merit of which consists in its integrity? Being desirous, therefore, that it should not be altered at all, and wishing to be able to controul the very last line up to the very last moment, I have, to all other inconveniences, added that of risking the deterioration of my fortune by publishing the work at my own risk and peril. Large sums were offered to me, in England and in Germany, for those parts of my manuscript which, it was supposed, circumstances would prevent me from publishing in France: but I answered, that no part had been omitted; for it was not consistent with my principles to suffer that to be published abroad, under my name, which I should not have dared to publish consistently with the laws of my own country, how-

ever severe they might appear to me. However, in spite of all causes of alarm, I have hitherto every reason to congratulate myself altogether on the plan which I have thought proper to follow: the most flattering testimonies have reached me from every quarter, and the law has remained silent. Perhaps the law may even feel in some measure grateful to me, for not having, in our days of irritation, despaired of its impassibility on a subject of so delicate a nature, and for having placed it in a situation to furnish so decisive a proof of its moderation:—for my part, I feel proud of it, for the sake of the law.

I have not pretended to be either an apologist or a panegyrist; but I have wished to enable every man to be the one or the other according to his own conviction, or to his own feelings; and for that reason I have preserved in the work even the most trifling minutiae, in order that every body might be struck with the character of truth which results from the contexture of all the different parts. I have only omitted personal anecdotes or epithets, which, being foreign to my subject, would only have been gratuitously offensive, and, unfortunately, too many have still escaped me. Unable to apply to any occupation requiring any great degree of attention, obliged to use the utmost haste, lest I should not see the termination of my undertaking, and led on by the principal feature of the work, I

have not had it in my power to bestow a sufficient degree of attention upon the accessories. When, therefore, these volumes which have already been published, are now read to me, I am surprised to find in them what I wished to have effaced, and what I sometimes think I had effaced. My situation will account for this neglect, as well as for many typographical errors, and must plead my excuse; for it has probably happened that my manuscript, on reaching the public, has passed through no other hands than those of a copyist and of the compositor; such is the inconvenience of my absolute solitude, which deprives me of the advantage of receiving advice or of submitting my work to revision. But it will perhaps be observed to me, why have you not applied to many persons, whose kindness, whose information, and whose knowledge of the subject might have been of essential service to you? To this I reply by asking whether two witnesses of the same fact have ever been found to agree on all points? Every one that I should have consulted, would therefore have wished to alter some of my chapters according to his way of thinking; and if I had allowed it, the actual words, the opinions, the judgments, right or wrong, of Napoleon, would soon have disappeared altogether; and what should I have produced in their stead? A book re-made in Paris. If, on the contrary, I had obstinately resisted,

the feeling of men on such occasions is well known: I should have given offence, and should never have been forgiven for having applied for advice and not followed it.

But it will perhaps be further said to me, why did you not act like all authors of memoirs, who generally do not allow them to be published until after their death, in order to avoid the inconveniences to which you are exposed? What! that I should have waited? How then would the duty which I have imposed upon myself have been fulfilled? And what would become of my intention to afford some satisfaction to those who have loved Napoleon, and to force those who have remained his enemies to esteem him. Shall we all, men of all ranks, professions, and callings, and I the first, who have served him with pride and sincerity, who have loved him with admiration, who have exulted from our hearts at the glory, splendour, and prosperity, which he poured over France, coldly hear him calumniated day after day, and feel ourselves at every moment insulted in his person? And I, possessing the triumphant answers to these calumnies, should have remained silent, should have waited! and for some trifling consideration, should have disappointed our contemporaries eager for information! No. The public was waiting in anxious expectation, they demanded that the companions of Napoleon should tell them what they had collected from

his words, or read in his mind. The journal which I had kept gave me the advantage of being soonest ready, and at the request of all I have hastened to fulfill this sacred duty; and happen what may, I already possess my reward in the testimonies, the wishes, the sympathy, which have been manifested to me, and in a kind of gratitude which some generous and noble hearts have expressed with rapture. Some have frankly confessed, that they had expected to find themselves more favourably spoken of, others have openly avowed that they had reasons to complain; but, said they, Napoleon has also had to complain of so many persons! he must have been so unhappy on his rock! may he not have been carried away by a moment of spleen? for you do not affirm that what he says is true, but merely that he said it. If therefore the accusation were of any great consequence, we should dispute it; if it were false, we should deny it; and they concluded by saying that they most willingly sacrificed their personal mortification, to the almost general satisfaction which was created by the recital of all that I had made known of him, in whose toils they had shared and to whom they owed their fortunes and their glory.

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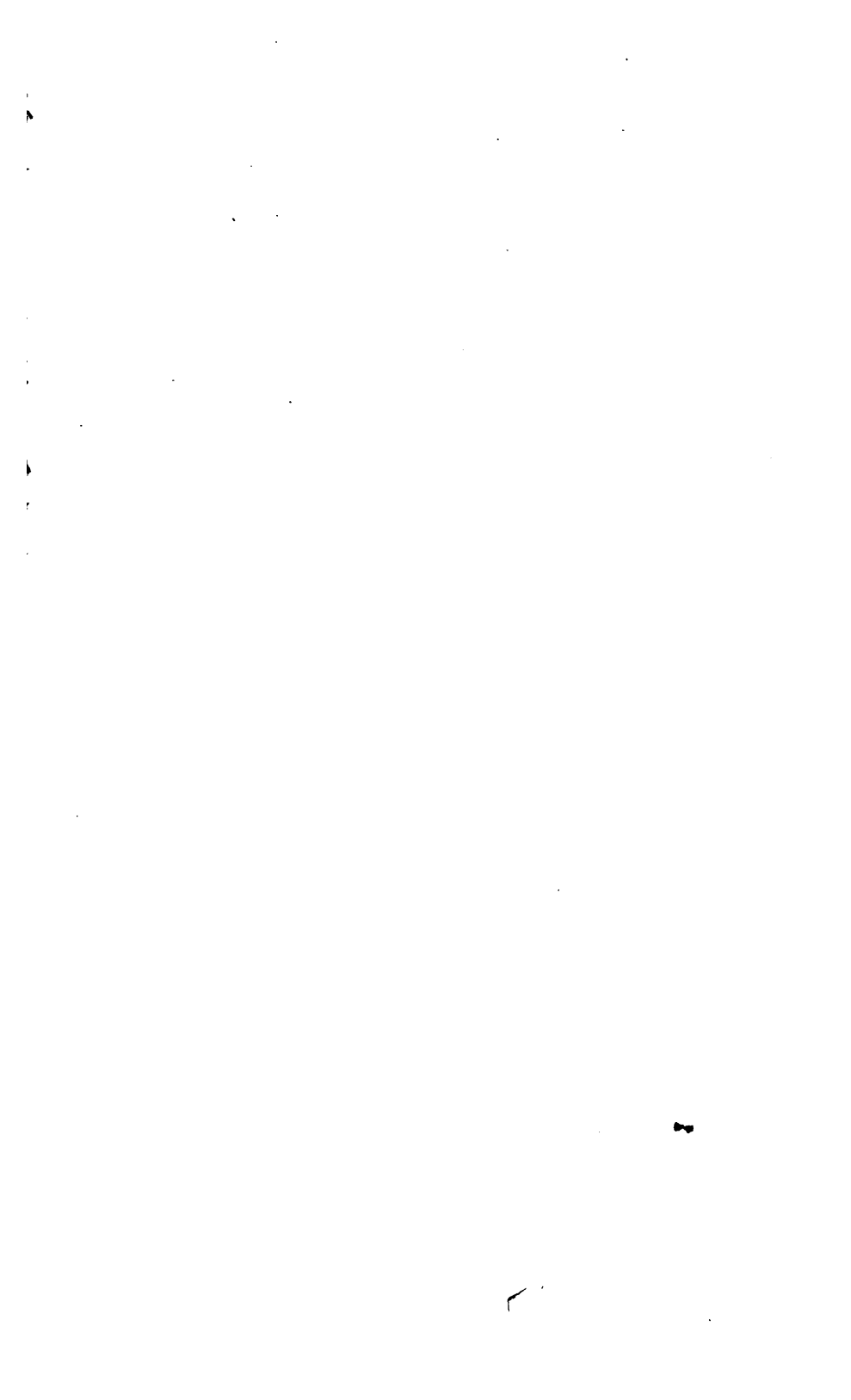
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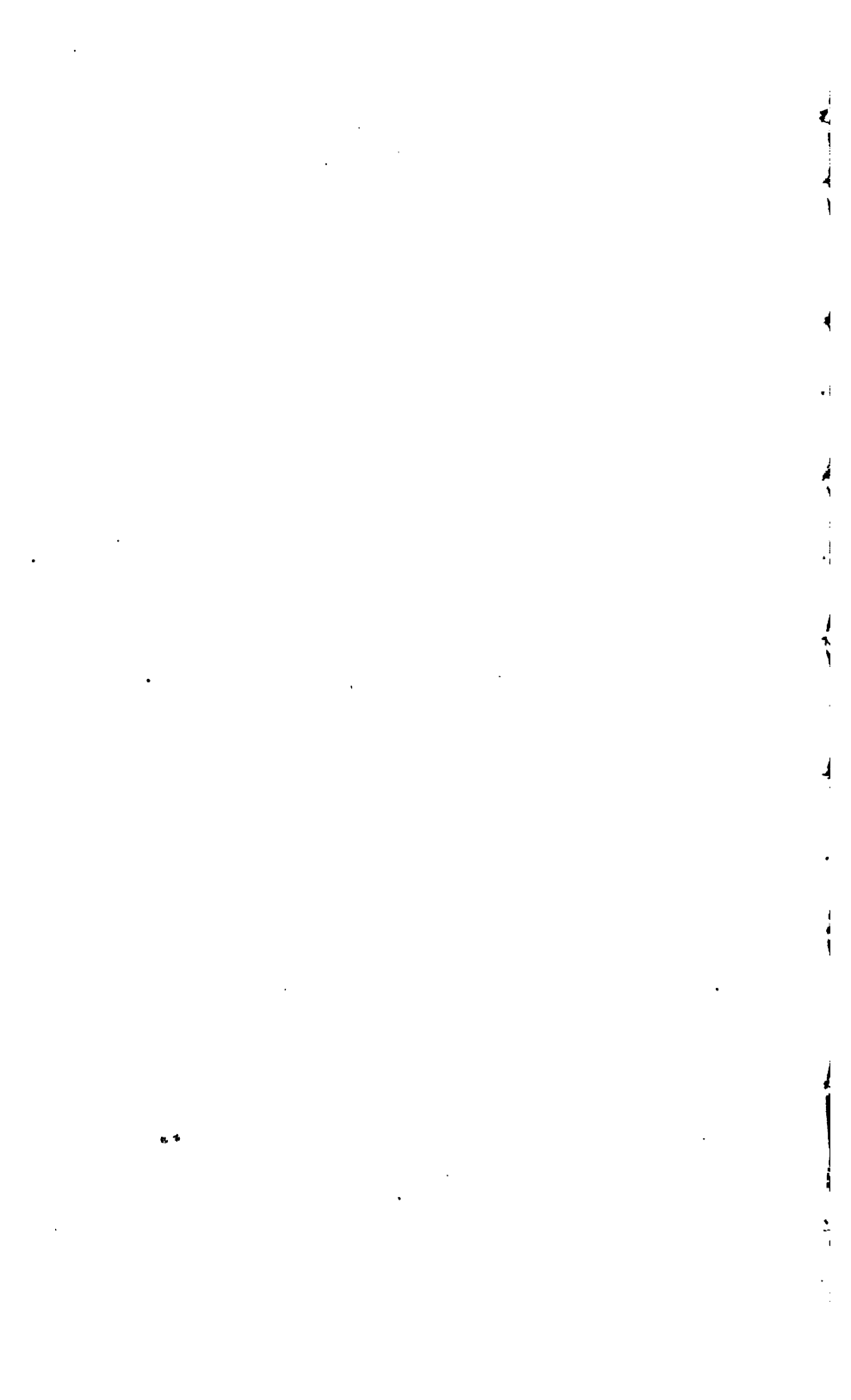
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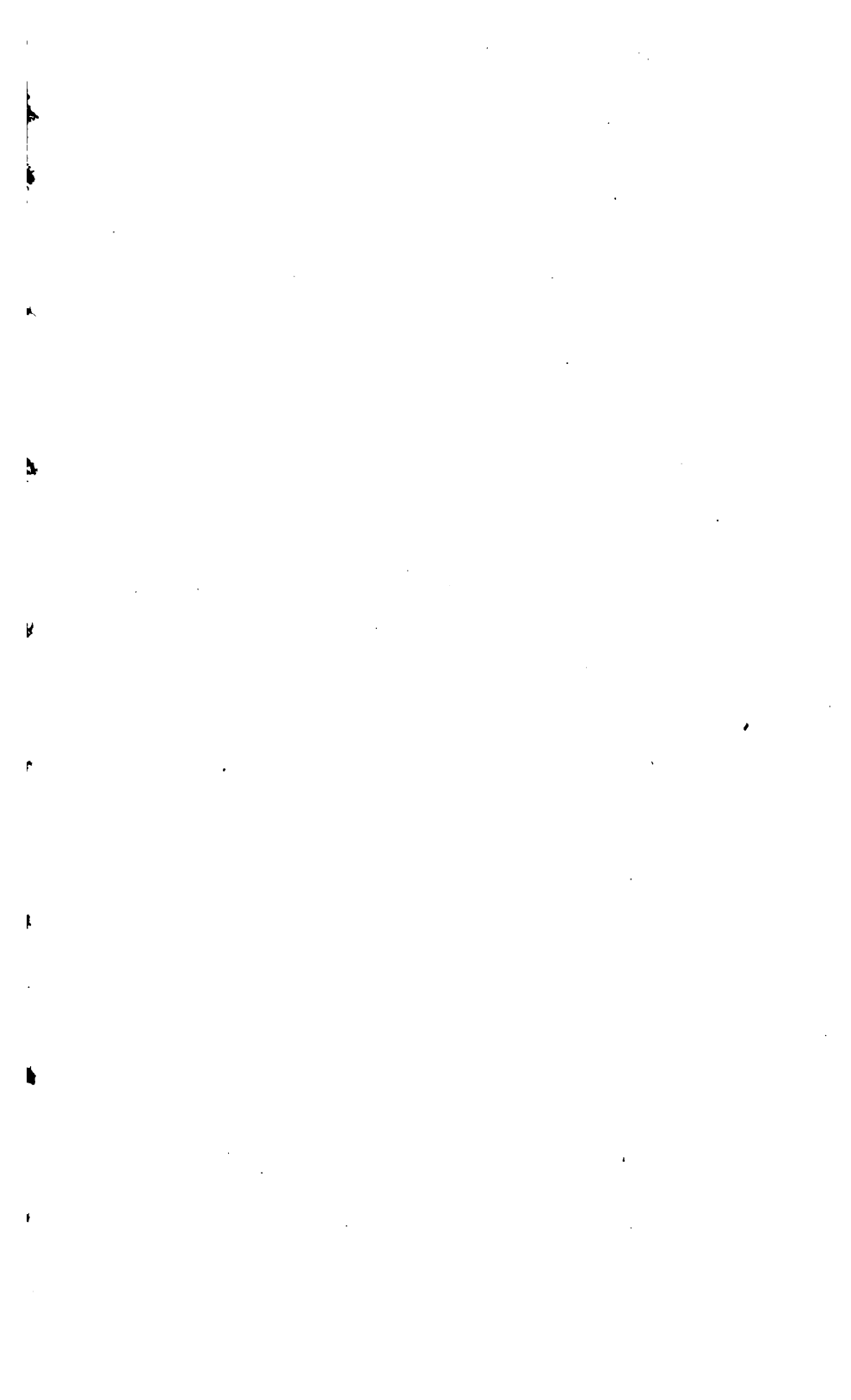
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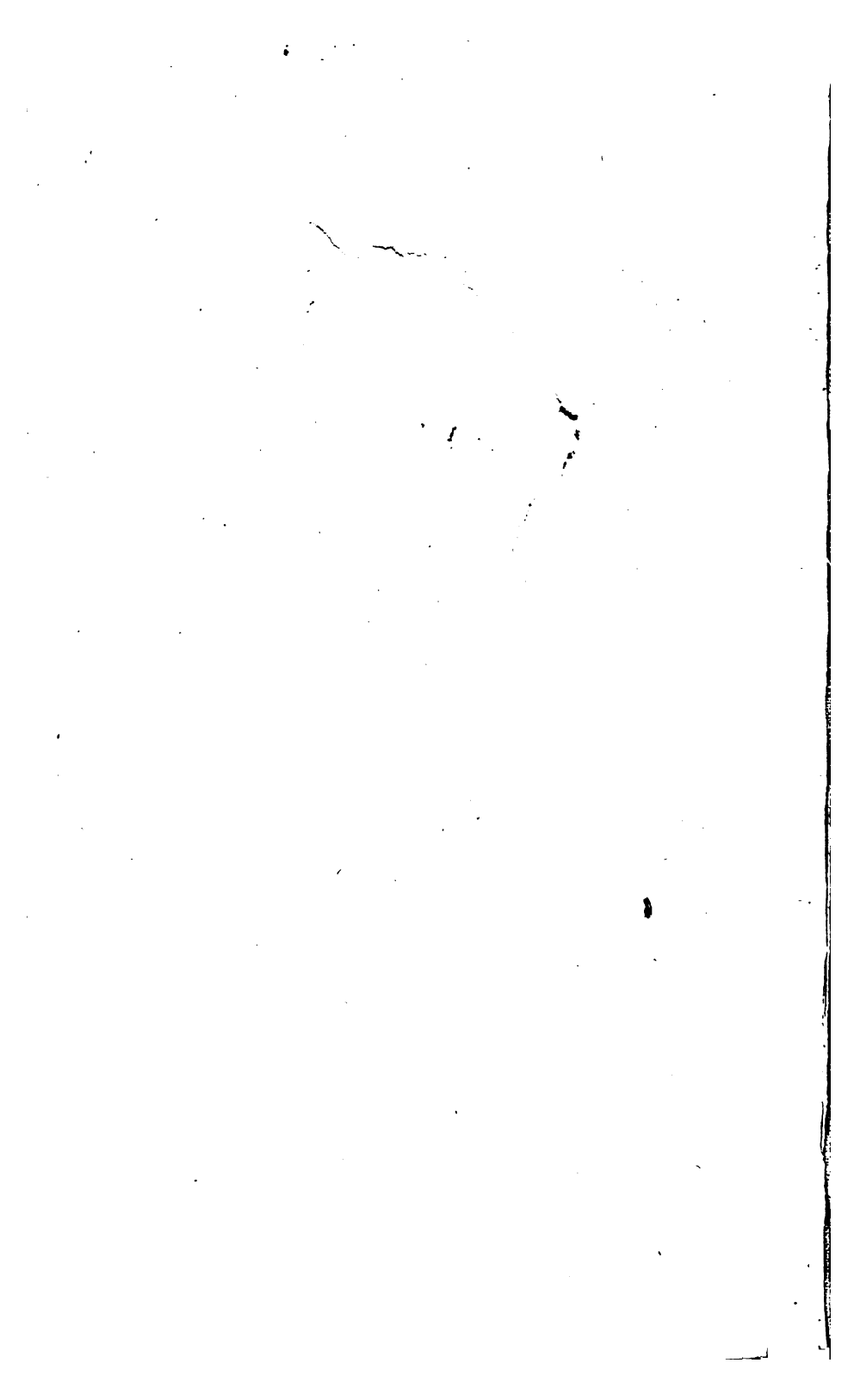
LONDON:

PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET STREET.









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